This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

BIOG
B(Auc)

Bradford Library and Literary Society.

No. 3740 *

To be kept 10 Days.

RULE 30.—Every Proprietor shall be allowed to have at one time, a Magazine and two Volumes, or a set of Novels, and one Volume of another Work.

RULE 32.—Whoever shall keep any Book longer than the time limited, shall forfeit for a Magazine, one penny per day; for a Volume, two pence.

RULE 34.—Any Subscriber who shall lend a Book or Magazine out of his own house, or take a Book from the Library, without its being entered by the Librarian, or return it without the Librarian's knowledge, shall forfeit five shillings.

Hosted by Google

THE

JOURNAL

AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

WILLIAM, LORD AUCKLAND

VOL. III.

Hosted by Google

LONDON
PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO.
NEW-STREET SQUARE

Hosted by Google

BIOG

THE

JOURNAL

AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

WILLIAM, LORD AUCKLAND

With a Preface and Introduction

BY THE RIGHT HON. AND RIGHT REV.

THE BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOL. III.

LONDON

RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET

Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty

1862

The right of translation is reserved

Hosted by Google

DA
506
.A92
A35
v. 3

Hosted by Google

129652-190

CONTENTS

OF

THE THIRD VOLUME.

CHAP. XXV.

State of the War. — Austria desires to exchange the Netherlands for Bavaria. — The English Government proposes a new Barrier in the Netherlands.—The Line of the Somme.—The Defection of Dumouriez. —Proclamation of the Prince of Coburg.— Conference at Antwerp.— The Prince of Coburg agrees to rescind his Proclamation. — Despatch of Mr. Dundas, strongly recommending the Siege of Dunkirk.—Conduct of Prussia.—Self-esteem of Dumouriez.— Mack's Ideas . Page 1

CHAP. XXVI.

Austria opposed to the Partition of Poland. — Sheridan's attack on Lord Auckland. — The Indemnity for Holland. — Letter of Quentin Craufurd on the State of Affairs.—Lord Auckland's Interview with Count de Mercy.—Claims of Monsieur to be recognised as Regent of France. —Vacillating Conduct of Prussia.—Conduct of Dumouriez.—The Empress of Russia. — Defeat of the French. — Count de Stahremberg proceeds to England to negotiate a Treaty between Austria and England. — Letter of Congratulation from Mr. Pitt. — Maréchal de Castries protests against the Dismemberment of France.—Jealousy of Austria respecting Dunkirk. — Marie Antoinette and Madame Elizabeth in the Temple.—Resignation of Mack 35

Hosted by Google

CHAP. XXVII.

Lord Auckland's Arrival in England.—Enthusiasm of an Editor.—Lord Stanhope's Motion.—Cheerfulness of Prince Kaunitz.—Lord Auckland suggests the taking Possession of Calais and Dunkirk, if the Austrians acquire the Somme as a Boundary.—The Dutch Indemnity not yet settled.—Letter of Lord Grenville.—Memoir on the "Line of the Somme."—Sir Morton Eden highly approves of the new Frontier.
Page 73

CHAP. XXVIII.

Austria and Sardinia in the South.—Marie Antoinette removed to the Conciergerie.—Despair of the Count de Mercy.—The March on Paris.—The Siege of Dunkirk.—Its failure.—Lord Chatham and the Duke of Richmond.—The Attack on Maubeuge.—State of Society at Stockholm.—Lord Loughborough on the Affairs of Ireland . . 102

CHAP. XXIX.

Failure of the Attack at Maubeuge.—Inefficiency of the Prince of Coburg.—Lord Auckland remonstrates against the West India Expedition.—Lord Grenville's Hopes.—Lord Malmesbury's Mission.—Wounded Feelings of Mr. George Rose.—Obstinacy of the Dutch.—Uncivilised Proceedings at Stockholm.—Letter of Gibbon.—Desire of the Sardinian Government to prevent an Agreement between Austria and England 131

CHAP. XXX.

State of Affairs in Toulon.—Meeting of Pitt and Gibbon at Beckenham.—Woodfall and George Rose.—Lord Sheffield on Army Discipline.—Signs of Civilization at Stockholm.—Prussia refuses to carry on the War without a Subsidy.—Lord Auckland's Letter to the Grand Pensionary, demanding pecuniary Advances from Holland.—Mr. Craufurd's Account of the State of Affairs in the Netherlands.—Mack's Reception in Brussels and England.—The "March on Paris" . . . 151

CHAP. XXXI.

The Campaign of 1794.—Mack's Report of the French Preparations.—Lord Malmesbury's Negotiation.—State of Feeling in France.—Dissensions in the English Army.—Insurrection in Poland.—Debate in the House of Lords.—Arrival of the Emperor at Brussels.—The French make an Irruption into Flanders.—The Conspiracy in England.—Departure of the Emperor.—Great Consternation.—Resignation of Mack.—Defeat of the Prince of Coburg 188

Hosted by Google

CHAP. XXXII.

Disappointment in England. — Coalition of Government and the Portland Party.—Retreat of the Austrian Army.—Disgust of the Officers at the Conduct of the Prince of Coburg. — A Claim for a Living. — Fall of Robespierre. — Surrender of Condé and Valenciennes.—"Ministers all in the Country."—Death of Count de Mercy.—His Character.—Lord Sheffield and Hayley. — The Conferences at Vienna. — Removal of the Prince of Coburg. — Conduct of the King of Prussia. — Disorganisation of the Austrians.— Suspicions of Treachery. — Letter from Stockholm. — The Prussian Subsidy suspended. — Recall of Lord Malmesbury. — Pitt and the Portlands . . . . Page 219

CHAP. XXXIII.

An Autumn Day at Beckenham. — Horne Tooke at the Old Bailey. — The great Coffee Question at Stockholm. — Lord Sheffield's Marriage.—Lord Auckland's Minutes.—Lord Henry Spencer leaves Stockholm. — A King's Present. — The French invade Holland. — Flight of the Orange Family 255

CHAP. XXXIV.

Great Increase of the English Navy.—Treachery of Prussia.—Recall of Lord Fitzwilliam.—Prussia makes Peace.—Mr. Storer and the Bargemen.—The English Government desires the Co-operation of Prussia to reinstate the Stadtholder.—The Prince of Wales in Trouble.—Letter of Lord Loughborough on Catholic Emancipation. — Death of Lord Henry Spencer.— Melancholy State of Affairs at the Hague . 285

CHAP. XXXV.

Lord Auckland's Pamphlet. — Mr. Burke's Indignation. — Mr. Pitt does not appreciate Burke's Rhapsodies.—Mr. Jackson's Mission to Vienna. —Austrian Disasters in Italy. — Conduct of Sardinia. — Debate in the House of Lords. — Finis Poloniæ. — Lord Auckland's Opinions on Diplomatic Education. — Retreat of the Austrians from Milan. — The Nobility and People of Vienna all for Peace. — Inefficiency of General Beaulieu in Italy. — The King of Sardinia under the Yoke of France. — Disgust of Lord Sheffield at the State of Affairs. — Letters of Perregaux respecting Peace. — Lord Auckland's Advice to Mr. Pitt 316

CHAP. XXXVI.

State of Affairs in Ireland. — Mr. Pitt's early Hours. — Ill-treatment of the Landed Interest.—Lord Malmesbury's Negotiation.—Lord Auckland and Mr. Pitt. — Anger of M. Thugut on account of the Negotia-

Hosted by Google

tions for Peace.— The Loyalty Loan. — Mr. Pitt's intended Marriage. — The Situation of the Pope. — Offer of the Low Countries to Prussia. — Mr. Pitt and Eleanor Eden. — Failure of Lord Malmesbury's Mission . . . . . Page 355

CHAP. XXXVII.

Mr. Pitt and Eleanor Eden.—The French Expedition to Bantry Bay.— Fall of Mantua. — The Bank suspends Specie Payments. — Lord Auckland appointed Postmaster-General.—State of Affairs at Vienna. —The Conduct of the French at Rome.—Disappearance of the Pope's favourite Snuff-box. — Troubles in Ireland. — Letter of Hugh Elliot. — Conduct of Sir Ralph Abercromby. — Impending Insurrection in Ireland. — Resignation of Sir Ralph Abercromby. — Bernadotte at Vienna 373

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Irish Rebellion. — Information given to the Irish Government. — Arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.—Proclamation of Henry Shears.— Commencement of the Rebellion. — State of Affairs at Vienna. — Mr. Pitt's Duel. — Progress of the Insurrection. — Death of Lord Edward 410

ILLUSTRATIONS 445

Hosted by Google

THE CORRESPONDENCE

OF

WILLIAM, FIRST LORD AUCKLAND.

CHAPTER XXV.

State of the War.—Austria desires to exchange the Netherlands for Bavaria.—The English Government proposes a new Barrier in the Netherlands.—The Line of the Somme.—The Defection of Dumouriez.—Proclamation of the Prince of Coburg.—Conference at Antwerp.—The Prince of Coburg agrees to rescind his Proclamation.—Despatch of Mr. Dundas, strongly recommending the Siege of Dunkirk.—Conduct of Prussia.—Self-esteem of Dumouriez.—Mack's Ideas.

THE following correspondence commences on the 31st of March, 1793.

The French had retreated from Holland, and the army under the Prince of Saxe-Coburg * advancing from the Rhine, after defeating Dumouriez at Neerwinden, had restored the Low Countries to the House of Austria. A conference of ambassadors and generals was then held at Antwerp to concert measures for the ensuing campaign.

Lord Auckland attended as the representative of England.

Lord Holland † states, in his "Memoirs of the Whig

* Great-grandfather of the present Duke of Saxe-Coburg.

† Lord Holland's statement is given on the authority of Lord Auckland's brother-in-law, Sir Gilbert Elliot, and is to the following effect: "Count de Mercy, who, though not the ostensible, was the real director

Hosted by Google

Party," that it was intended to dismember France; and that all the territory north of the Somme was to be united to the Austrian Netherlands.

This statement has been denied* by high authority, but it is completely confirmed in this correspondence.

It appears that Austria was very desirous of exchanging the Netherlands for Bavaria; she was tired of these distant possessions, which were always bringing her into collision with France.

England, on the contrary, who in 1715 had persuaded Austria to take† them, was very anxious that she should retain them as a barrier against French encroachment; and, in order to induce her to continue the war, a new frontier was projected, to be formed out of the conquered territory of France.

Lord Stanhope, in his "Life of Pitt," blames the Austrians, because "on the surrender of Condé and Valenciennes, they had taken possession of both towns, not as places to be held during war, not in the name of the captive King, Louis the Seventeenth, but as conquests of their own, as permanent additions to the Austrian Netherlands. In vain did Monsieur protest against the act; in vain did Dumouriez arouse the indignation of the later exiles. It was plain that the early views of moderation had been laid aside by the Austrian Government; that the counsels of Pitt had not prevailed; that the curtailment, at least, if not the partition of France was now in view."

Undoubtedly, the curtailment, if not the partition of France was then in view; but this policy was adopted by Austria in obedience to, and not in defiance of, the counsels of Mr. Pitt's Government.

of Austrian affairs in the Netherlands, disclosed to Sir Gilbert Elliot the plan they wished to pursue. They were to secure the whole of the French territory north of the Somme." Lord Holland also states, that Austria had "harboured some such selfish designs since the commencement of the war." Austria certainly had selfish designs, but they were rather on Bavaria than France.

* In an article by Mr. Croker, in the *Quarterly Review* for June 1852.

† Prince Eugene, in 1714, informed the English Envoy, General Stanhope, "that the Low Countries were of little value to the Emperor or

Hosted by Google

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

Hague, March 31st, at night, 1793.

My Lord,—Captain Bentinck* returned about an hour from Brussels; and I have requested him to proceed immediately with this despatch to England.

The French have evacuated all the Low Countries, and have retired towards Lille and Valenciennes. Namur, Mons, Antwerp, and its citadel are in the hands of the Austrians. Breda and Gertruydenberg have also surrendered. The several garrisons are allowed to march out, and return into France. For further particulars I refer to Captain Bentinck.

I shall be extremely anxious to receive instructions from your Lordship on the enclosed minute†, which was given to Captain Bentinck by the Adjutant-General De Mack, at the desire of the Prince de Coburg. I make no doubt, in case I should find his Royal Highness and the Duke of York of the same opinion, that it will be his Majesty's pleasure that we should attend the proposed meeting; and that it may be my duty to proceed towards Antwerp on the 6th instant, if the weather should happen to be such as to put it out of my power to hear previously from your Lordship and his Majesty's ministers. But I feel it of essential importance to receive the fullest instructions calculated to embrace the various objects of a conference which may affect the whole course of the campaign, and eventually the future prosperity and tranquillity of Europe.

For these reasons I trust your Lordship will either signify his Majesty's pleasure immediately in a des-

empire, they were only a burthen to the former, and if he should consent to accept them, it would be more for the sake of his old allies than his own."

* Afterwards Vice-Admiral, father of Mr. Bentinck, M. P. for West Norfolk.

† This minute is dated on the 29th of March, and sets forth the necessity of a conference.

Hosted by Google

patch by Captain Bentinck, or by such modes of conveyance as your Lordship may think proper.

I take the occasion to forward two papers which I have received from the Marquis de Bouillé. One of them contains the further information* which your Lordship wished to receive, but I have not had time to peruse it.

I am, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Whitehall, April 3rd, 1793.

My Lord,—His Majesty has been pleased to approve of the proposal made by the Prince of Saxe-Coburg that his Royal Highness the Duke of York and your Excellency should proceed to Antwerp, to confer with that general on the different points which relate to the present situation of the war in that part of Europe. You are sufficiently apprised of the constant desire which has been expressed on his Majesty's part of establishing the fullest concert with the Court of Vienna as to the views and future operations of the powers at war with France; and it is with the greatest satisfaction that I have learnt this day from Count Stadion† that M. de Mercy‡ has received orders to repair to England for that purpose. You will express to Prince Coburg the pleasure which this circumstance affords to the British Government, and will assure him that, immediately on M. de Mercy's arrival, his Majesty's ministers will be ready and desirous to enter with him into the fullest and most unreserved discussion of all the different points in the present situation of affairs, in which the common interest of the two Courts are so much concerned.

* Respecting assistance to the insurgents in France.

† Austrian Minister in London.

‡ The Count de Mercy Argenteau, Minister of Austria in the Netherlands.

Hosted by Google

We are not sufficiently informed of the ideas which Prince Coburg may have to propose, to make it possible to furnish your Excellency with precise instructions applicable to the different proposals which may come in question. The two leading points are the general plan of future operations, and the advantages to which the powers at war may respectively look.

The view which is entertained here on both those points leads his Majesty to wish strongly that the idea of proceeding without delay to the siege of Valenciennes and Lille may be adopted. Your Excellency is apprised of the decided preference with which his Majesty would see the plan of indemnification on the side of Flanders adopted by the Court of Vienna, rather than that of the exchange of Bavaria; and besides the political reasons which would render the success of the former plan more desirable to this country than that of the latter, it is sufficiently evident that our military operations can much more easily be adapted to a combination with those of the Austrians in Flanders than elsewhere.

You are, therefore, in all your conversations to point at the great advantage of the Austrians, looking to the acquisition of a new barrier in the Netherlands, rather than to the exchange of those provinces for Bavaria; a measure which by creating a dependent and weak power on the frontier of France, would so materially increase instead of diminishing her weight in the general scale of Europe.

With this view, your Excellency may explain that his Majesty would be ready, if it was desired by Prince Coburg, to act on the side of Dunkirk, the investiture, and still more the capture of which, would so essentially promote the siege of Lille.

But as it would be necessary for this purpose to collect a greater force than is at present under the command of the Duke of York, and as it seems very desirable to have the assistance of a body of Dutch troops, you will state that the whole must be matter

Hosted by Google

of subsequent and more particular arrangement, which will be rendered easier by the expected arrival of Count Mercy.

Your Excellency will in the interim urge the Dutch Government to take immediate measures for moving, in conjunction with the troops in his Majesty's pay, as large a body of the forces of the Republic as can possibly be applied to this object. From what you have stated, it is indeed hoped that these measures are now taking; but if not, the expediency and even necessity of their being adopted without the smallest delay, is so urgent that you cannot press it too strongly.

It is by no means the King's intention to suspend till after the definitive settlement of a plan of concert the march of his troops towards the French frontier. His Majesty has, on the contrary, thought proper by this occasion to authorise his Royal Highness the Duke of York to move forward with the troops under his command toward Ostend, or such other point on the coast of Flanders as may be most expedient with a view to the plans in question, and to direct the Hanoverians to follow him thither. His Majesty is even pleased to consent that any preliminary arrangement necessary towards forming the attack on Dunkirk, in the event of the Austrians attacking Lille, should be taken by his Royal Highness if he thinks proper. But the British or Hanoverian troops cannot while no concert is established be placed under the orders of the Prince of Coburg, and still less under those of the Prince of Brunswick Oels.

I am, with great truth and respect, my Lord, your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

GRENVILLE.

Lord Loughborough to Lord Auckland.

April 3rd, 1793.

My dear Lord,—What a different sensation your interview at Antwerp inspires from that which was

Hosted by Google

occasioned by your proposed interview * two months ago. I congratulate you most heartily on the wonderful change of affairs to which you have so essentially contributed. By the old maxim, half the work is done by so good a beginning, but I am still anxious that the remaining half should be pursued with unremitting vigour; and much as I should rejoice to see you here, I would consent to postpone that pleasure till you can be better spared from the great operations which must now be planned and put forward.

I am in great doubt lest the Austrians should resume the project of last year, and move their force towards Thionville, as it is reported the Prince of Coburg talked favourably of that plan, and that the Court of Vienna might be partial to it from a predilection to acquisitions near the Rhine. An old friend † of yours, who was a minister in France, and I believe has very just military notions, said to me last year, on the Duke of Brunswick's advance, "Il ne doit pas parvenir par cette route. La trouée ne sera jamais assez grande pour son armée, et il risque d'être coupé dans les défilés de l'Argonne, ou embourbé en Champagne." The event justified his observations. The force of the maritime powers ought to make a great change in the disposition for this campaign—that can never be employed beyond the Meuse, and can act with great effect on the west side of Flanders. The siege of Lille even, if it were protracted, would keep France in great agitation, especially if it was aided by attacks on the coast, and give the most effectual support to the German army on the Rhine, by obliging the enemy to maintain a great army in Picardy at a vast expense. From this operation there is no fear of disaster to the allied troops, and the success of it would lead to the most important acquisitions for those interests which must keep them united. It is not too sanguine a hope that

* With Dumouriez. † M. Calonne.

Hosted by Google

Artois and the sea-coast to the Somme might again be united to the Netherlands, which would concentrate the interests of England, Holland, and Austria, and form the best security for the balance of Europe.

I am very happy that you like Bentinck. He is very grateful for your kindness to him, and extremely eager to return. Attached as he is to the sea-service, I believe he would prefer being employed on the Continent; and if you found it necessary to have a person stationed with the Prince of Coburg, who, we suppose, is to have the government of the Low Countries, I doubt whether you could recommend one who would be more active and more at your entire disposal.

The success of your affairs has operated strongly to the quiet of Ireland, and everything here seems as well disposed as our utmost wishes could suppose.

My love to Lady Auckland and all your household.

Ever yours, my dear Lord,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

Hague, April 4th, 1793, 9 A.M.

My Lord,—I have this morning received the inclosed very curious piece of intelligence.* I lose no time in forwarding it, though I think it probable that your Lordship may have previously learnt it from Ostend. It is difficult in the first moment to form a judgment respecting the probable effect of this new incident in the opposite eventual results of Dumouriez's success or failure in this new incident.

* The defection of Dumouriez. After his defeat, Dumouriez entered into a negotiation with the Prince of Coburg, the result of which was, that Dumouriez issued a proclamation to the French nation declaring his intention of restoring the constitutional monarchy of France, and the Prince of Coburg issued another declaring that he would support the views of Dumouriez, and that any conquest made by his army would not be retained, but regarded as a "sacred deposit;" and the Prince bound himself in the most solemn manner to restore it to the Government of France, or when Dumouriez should demand it.

Hosted by Google

Much may also depend on secret stipulations which perhaps may have been made (as I have hinted in a former letter). But if the Prince de Coburg is at full liberty to act, I am clearly of opinion that the allied armies should avail themselves of their advantage and take possession of the principal frontier towns:—the right and means of indemnification must not be lost in the confusion.

Your Lordship will recollect that in the propositions made to me* by M. de Maulde† on the part of M. Dumouriez, the hardy measure was mentioned which he has now adopted.

I have, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

Hague, April 5th, 1793.

My Lord,—I have the honour to enclose the capitulations of Breda and Gertruydenberg mentioned in the preceding despatch. They contain several expressions and some concessions which convey a sort of shock‡ to our feelings on the subject. It is however fair to recollect that large magazines of provisions had been formed by the enemy in both places; that the regular siege would have put the republic under the necessity of destroying at a great expense two of their own towns, and that a mere blockade might have made no impression during many weeks. Besides, some complaisance was due to the wishes of the Prince de Coburg to have this business completed without further delay.

I have, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

* Before the war.

† Then French Minister in Holland.

‡ The garrisons were allowed to retire into France. Colonel Calvert saw a portion of the garrisons marching through Antwerp on the 11th of April, colours flying, drums beating, bayonets fixed, and lighted matches. "Here are the French and ourselves," he observes, "marching up the two sides of the Scheldt; the one army to attack, the other to defend the frontiers of France." — *Calvert Correspondence*, p. 55.

Hosted by Google

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

Hague, April 5th, 1793.

My Lord,—I yesterday transmitted to your Lordship an account of the strange capture of MM. Beurnonville, Camus, La Marque, Quinett and Bancal.* The four last were on the 2nd, at night, forwarded from Mons to Maestricht, to be imprisoned there. The others were still at Mons on the 23rd.

On a general view of the existing circumstances, I thought proper this morning to present to the States-General, jointly with M. de Stahremberg, the short memorial† of which I enclose a copy. The impression which it is meant to convey may be useful here in many points of view, and a similar sentiment relative to the regicides will, I trust, soon prevail in every part of the globe, even in France. I should add, that I have experienced in this and on many occasions a cordial disposition in M. de Stahremberg to act in consort with me.

I have, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

Antwerp, April 8th, at night, 1793.

My Lord,—I arrived here yesterday evening and drove immediately to the Prince de Coburg's. His Royal Highness the Duke of York, the Prince of Orange, the Comte de Metternich‡, Lieutenant-General de Knoblesdorff§, the Comte de Stahremberg‖, the Comte de Keller¶, were already assembled there. Before I could enter into conversation with the Prince

* The Minister of War and the four Commissioners of the Convention.
† Demanding that the regicides should be delivered over to justice.
‡ Father of the late Prince Metternich.
§ Commanding the Prussian contingent.
‖ Austrian Minister at the Hague.
¶ Prussian Minister at the Hague.

Hosted by Google

de Coburg, I was taken to another room by M. de Stahremberg, who showed me the two enclosed declarations, and added that M. de Metternich wished me to give a serious attention to them.

I am confident that your Lordship will share the painful impressions that I felt on perusing those papers.* I immediately stated to M. de Stahremberg the necessity of trying what we have since executed with success. I found him cordially and zealously desirous to assist, and his Royal Highness the Duke of York, with whom we had a private conference this morning, fully concurred with us. We found means, the detail of which would be superfluous, to convince the Prince of Coburg, with all the delicacy and respect due to his position, that it was expedient to give a different turn to the business, as it must otherwise leave an opening to unpleasant and mischievous constructions. In the result it was settled that his Highness should sign and issue another declaration, which M. de Metternich will prepare to-night with the Comte de Stahremberg and me. I hope to annex a copy of it to this despatch.

The Prince de Coburg, who seems to have the best possible intentions, had been influenced on this occasion by motives certainly of some weight. After the battle of the 22nd he could perhaps have forced Dumouriez to quit the Austrian Provinces, but it would have been attended with further loss, with delay, with risk, and perhaps with the pillage of many principal towns in Brabant and in Flanders. From the same considerations it was desirable to obtain the surrender of this town of Breda and of Gertruydenberg; whilst these projects were going forward the incident relative to M. de Beurnonville and the others took place. Dumouriez then offered to march forwards to Mons, and meant, under the presumption that he should be supported by the army, to deposit Lille and Valenciennes for his own security and for an eventual retreat in the

* The proclamations of Dumouriez and the Prince of Coburg.

Hosted by Google

hands of the Prince de Coburg. The declarations were adapted to this speculation. In the mean time, the troops in general beginning to show disaffection towards Dumouriez, he found it necessary to quit them and to retire to Mons, where he now is. He was not accompanied by more than 1000 horse, and from 1000 to 2000 infantry. After his departure the French army is said to have broken to pieces, many went home, and others threw themselves into the neighbouring garrisons of Lille and Valenciennes, Condé, Maubeuge, &c. The strong and important post of Maulde being left nearly open, a detachment of the Prince de Coburg's army took possession of it yesterday, and the blockade of Condé was formed. No further intelligence has been received, except that on the 5th the National Convention had offered a large reward for the head of Dumouriez, that measures were taking to collect an army under Dampierre, and that Santerre had promised to raise 40,000 in Paris to be sent to the frontier.

This entire day has been so fully occupied that I am glad to have the advantage of referring your Lordship to Sir James Murray for further particulars.

The conference, which lasted through the whole morning, took a most satisfactory turn in every point of view. Sir James Murray will explain particulars better than I can do. I shall think it my duty to send a statement of what passed as soon as I arrive at the Hague: I mean to leave this place to-morrow.

I annex minutes of the conference held here, and a copy of the Prince de Coburg's declaration.

I have, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

Rotterdam, April 9th, 1793.

My Lord,—My despatch of last night by Sir James Murray with his explanations, and with the paper

Hosted by Google

entitled "protocol," * will have given to your Lordship a sufficient detail of what passed in the conferences at Antwerp. The whole was conducted with much politeness, and with apparent unanimity of sentiment. The Prince of Coburg sees in a just light the zealous and efficient activity of the Duke of York, and expressed himself to me respecting his Royal Highness in terms of the highest admiration. He is not well satisfied with the Prussians for detaining on the Rhine an Austrian force of near 15,000 men under General Wurmser, and for furnishing only 8000 in return to his army. He is glad, however, to have General Knoblesdorff for the command, instead of Duke Frederick of Brunswick, who is retiring.

The general idea as to the first disposal of the troops, is that about 8000 or 10,000 of the English, Hanoverians, and Dutch shall be cantoned in the places from Ostend to Furnes, and to Menin, to cover that frontier whilst they are forming and getting ready for the field; and that there shall be a moveable corps of about 8000 in the same line; the farther disposal to be decided by circumstances, and by the course and objects of the campaign. In the mean time the Prince of Coburg, with his army of about 48,000 men, including the Prussians, will endeavour to get possession of Condé, Maubeuge, and, if possible, of Lille. I had occasion to intimate fully to those whom it most concerned the expediency of retaining those conquests, if they should be made for the future security of the Low Countries against France. I also explained to M. de Metternich the reasonableness of furnishing some indemnity to the Dutch by the cession of Lillo † and Leifenshock, and by possessing for them some additional territory round Maestricht, and the property of that moiety of the town which is now considered as belonging

* This protocol relates to military matters.
† The forts of Lillo and Leifenshock are near Antwerp.

Hosted by Google

to the Liégeois. I expect to hear farther on these subjects from the Comte de Mercy, to whom the Comte Stahremberg went this morning, accompanied by the messenger Shaw, and also by Captain Bentinck. M. de Stahremberg and M. de Metternich are both aware of the point of view in which the proposed exchange of the Low Countries for Bavaria is regarded by the King and his Majesty's ministers; and as far as they can with propriety risk an opinion, they are strongly against that project, provided that the possession of the Low Countries could be secured in the manner above described; and without such security, it is not probable that the Elector of Bavaria would ever agree to the exchange.

I enclose a printed copy of the Prince de Coburg's declaration*, intended to be issued this day at Mons, and I should consider the meeting at Anvers as a very important event, if it had produced nothing more than this corrective to his Highness's declaration of the 5th instant. The Colonel De Mack, whose talents are certainly of the first class, and such as will entitle him to the influence which he exercises so creditably, could not help seeing what my sentiments were on this transaction.† He considered it, therefore, as what he owed to himself (the declaration of the 5th being his work) to state and to deliver to me an explanation of the circumstances and motives which had influenced the Prince of Coburg. I send a copy of this paper; if it should not produce all the effect for which it was calculated, it will at least serve to throw light on a curious and interesting piece of history. I understand that the change which has taken place in the Austrian Government by the nomination of M. Thugut to be

* In this declaration all the promises made in the proclamation of the 5th were rescinded, and henceforth the object of the allies was conquest. Nothing more was heard of the "sacred deposit."

† "Le colonel Mack est un officier d'un rare mérite et d'une grande vertu."—*Memoirs of Dumouriez*, p. 217.

Hosted by Google

Vice-Chancellor, may be considered as favourable to M. de Mercy's influence.*

I have, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

Captain Bentinck to Lord Auckland.

Brussels, Wednesday, April 10th, 1793.

My Lord,—I called this morning on Count Mercy, and communicated the extract you confided to me. We had a long conversation, in which the Count desired I would acquaint you that he was perfectly sensible of your Lordship's attention to him; and wishing extremely to cultivate your friendship and to have further intercourse on the subject of his mission, he has determined to pass one day with your Lordship at the Hague. With that view he leaves Brussels to-morrow for his country-house, where he remains till the 18th, and proposes being at Rotterdam on the 22nd, and the 24th or 25th at the Hague, and from thence embarking at Rotterdam by water to London. The Count has written for some ship of war to convey him over, which, as he goes in a Dutch vessel, will be extremely necessary.

Count Mercy is perfectly of opinion with your Lordship and his Majesty's ministers that the sieges of Valenciennes and Lille should be commenced as soon as possible, whether the exchange for Bavaria takes place or not. On the subject of this exchange he said he had many reasons to give, which he would detail to your Lordship when you met, and which he thought might have great weight with administration. But he laid repeated stress on the necessity of reciprocal frankness between the two Courts, without which he was clear that nothing effectual would be done. He considered this as a moment for establishing the most solid and durable treaty between the two Courts, which he observed had before been lost, from

* M. Thugut had been a protégé of Count de Mercy.

Hosted by Google

want of confidence on the part of England. Count Mercy seemed to me, from the turn of his conversation, strongly inclined to the change for Bavaria, and the possession of Lille, Valenciennes and Givet appeared to be a necessary part of the arrangement. Dunkirk was mentioned as if to be destroyed, to ensure our safety in the North Sea. The Count was hurt that he was not called to the Congress at Antwerp, and does not seem pleased with Prince Coburg, particularly blaming his letter to the French, in which Dumouriez is so highly complimented.

A friend of mine, who lives in this town, has just told me that General Sullivan arrived here last night from the French army, and reports it to have been under arms for thirty-six hours after Dumouriez left them, expecting him to return, and the greater number determined to follow his orders. The party who fired upon Dumouriez went out privately, and never reported the circumstance. General Sullivan says the army are still well affected. He divides them into three descriptions; one, very small, attached to the Convention; another considerably larger, disinclined to any active measures, not choosing to serve with or against their countrymen; the third, the far greater number, attached to Dumouriez and ready to follow him. If this is so, we yet may find the business easier than we yesterday thought it. My friend also assures me that in Lille and Valenciennes they are extremely short of provisions, and that many of Dumouriez's friends have thrown themselves into these and other towns, apprehensive that Dumouriez has been playing double.

Count Stahremberg despatched Shaw this morning. This letter will be delivered to your Lordship by a messenger who is to go at nine. I enclose the despatch (No. 42) which your Lordship gave me, and have the honour to be

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

W. Bentinck.

Hosted by Google

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

Hague, April 11th, 1793.

My Lord,—In reporting the particulars which had occurred at Antwerp, I omitted to mention that I had a full conversation with M. Metternich respecting the future government of the Low Countries. He informed me that the Emperor's Declaration of Amnesty, without any exceptions, and also all the concessions which had been desired respecting the ancient constitution, would be published in the course of next week.

I have had the pleasure of confiding this circumstance to M. Van Eupen*, accompanied by a piece of advice (suggested to me by M. Metternich), to return to this country with the utmost privacy and reserve. He sees this in a right point of view; and acknowledges that the zeal and fidelity which he has observed towards me and M. de Stahremberg, during the last five months, have been amply compensated.

In conversing with Colonel Mack respecting the number of killed and wounded in the different affairs of last month, he said that according to the latest returns the Austrians had not lost more than 2600 killed, exclusive of about 2400 badly wounded, many of whom will not recover. He says that the number of the French killed and wounded was 20,000 by the lowest computation.

I have, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

Mr. George Rose to Lord Auckland.

Old Palace Yard, April 16th, 1793.

My dear Lord,—I never will again attempt to thank

* M. Van Eupen had been one of the leaders of the revolt in the Low Countries against Joseph II.

Hosted by Google

you for your uncommon goodness to my son*, because I can in no degree express what I feel about it. There is no forming a guess what openings there will be. Lord Elgin is ordered back to Brussels, which I did not exactly expect, as it seemed probable he should remain with the King of Prussia, and that Lord Henry Spencer should succeed his Lordship in the Low Countries. Mr. Pitt knows entirely how George is situated, and my wishes respecting him: I have reason to hope, therefore, he will not neglect him. I think his paper respecting Poitou may be useful. I do not like great expeditions, but feeding a fire that is begun may be ventured. I would send to one of their ports, if the business is ripe enough in the country, a ship or two of force, with two or three transports, as soon as Brest is held completely in check, and furnish the Royalists with arms, ammunition, and necessaries. Mr. Pitt will make the best use he can of the information collected.

You have indeed been an œconomist in the expenditure of the money you drew for; there never was an instance, certainly, of such important services † performed at so small an expense. Mr. Sheridan, however, gave notice that he should move for your recall and impeachment on account of the joint memoir presented by you and the Comte de Stahremberg to the States-General on the 5th of this month, which will give an opportunity, I hope, of justice being done to your exertions and your talents, for it is those which prevented the attack.

The scene of active business and bustle is removing so far from you, I shall begin to hope we shall not be disappointed of seeing you early in the next month. We are now completely idle in the House of Commons, waiting for Mr. Dundas's India business.

Ever, dear sir, most cordially and truly yours,

GEORGE ROSE.

* Mr. George Henry Rose, who was now being instructed in diplomacy by Lord Auckland.

† The defence of Holland.

Hosted by Google

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

Hague, April 16th, 1793.

My Lord,—I have the honour to enclose some further informations received from M. de Bouillé, entitled "Projet de Descente."

The Comte de Stahremberg returned to this place last night. He left the Prince de Coburg on the 6th. The head-quarters of the Austrians were then at Quievrain, at a small distance to the S. E. of Condé, and extending to Quiverchin. The Prince de Coburg has with him about 25,000 men, and completely blockades Condé, which is supposed to have provisions for about three weeks. A part of the garrison of Valenciennes had made a sortie on the 14th towards Escautpoint (between Condé and Valenciennes), and had been driven back with loss.

M. de Clairfayt is between Tournay and Lille with a corps of about 12,000 men. In the neighbourhood of Lille there is a body of French, reported to be about 10,000 or 12,000. Valenciennes is said to have provisions only for eight days; but it is not yet possible (for want of numbers) to blockade the place completely. Dumouriez is at Brussels, and says that he is going into Switzerland, to be for some time in retirement in the neighbourhood of Lausanne. The Duke de Chartres and many others, late of Dumouriez's army, profess an intention to go to England.* I conceive that it may be expedient to adopt some public means of making known how far this new class of emigrants will be admitted: they are certainly of a very different description from those who were driven into England by the pressure of misfortune previous to the commencement of hostilities. There remained with the Prince de Coburg's army about 1800 French, who had come over in consequence of Dumouriez's desertion. It is a serious embarrass-

* Dumouriez went to England in June, 1793, but was immediately ordered out of the country.

Hosted by Google

ment to know how to dispose of them, or how to apply them to any utility.

In my last despatch, I laid before your Lordship a second letter from M. de Valence.* I now send the copy of my answer to it. I have endeavoured in vain to soften the harshness of its purport; but I am convinced that it is right, both in strict morality and in true policy, to discourage these adventurers,—to decline all communication with them, and to lower them so far as to lessen their future means of doing mischief.

An indirect overture has been made to the Prince de Coburg, to agree to the suspension of hostilities, for the purpose of exchanging the Queen of France, the young King, and Madame Elizabeth, for Beurnonville and the four commissaries. The Prince de Coburg meant to answer to this insinuation, that the armistice was unnecessary, but that he would readily listen to the other part of the proposition. It is much to be regretted that there is not some person at the Austrian head-quarters, on the part of that government, sufficiently informed of the system and views of the Combined Powers to give advice, on the several new incidents, which are rather political than military. M. de Thugut would have been proper for such a situation; M. de Revitzky would perhaps not be ill suited to it. The necessity of some such appointment has been suggested to the Emperor. I saw the necessity of it, and believe that it would be useful.

I enclose a copy of Dumouriez's second proclamation. It is ill connected with his sudden retreat into Switzerland. I understand that when he wrote it he was in possession of M. de Coburg's second declaration, though he affects to have seen only the first. He accused the Prince Stahremberg, when he saw him, of a great want of penetration and judgment, in having sent his aid to the measures taken at Antwerp. He said that those measures were grossly contrary to the interests of the Court of Vienna; that it was the

* General De Valence commanded a division under Dumouriez.

Hosted by Google

evident and true policy of Austria to unite herself with France to send the King of Prussia back into Germany, and the English troops into their own island, and for the Prince de Coburg to march jointly with him at the head of the French and Austrian forces into the heart of France, and to re-establish a constitutional monarchy; that he would afterwards, and at all events, charge himself with the task of humbling Great Britain, against which he talked with the most rancorous menaces and malevolence,—though, from other passages in the conversation, he appeared to know that M. de Stahremberg was sufficiently connected with me to tell me all that had passed.

On the Count de Stahremberg's asking him what he had meant to do when he was at Moerdyk, he answered, that if the relief of Maestricht and the wretched blunders of the French generals on the Haute-Meuse had not obliged him to desist from his enterprise, he intended, about the 10th of March, to have attacked the isle of Dort; that the English gun-boats and the guards might have occasioned a large list of killed and wounded among his troops, but that the object was infinitely too important to him to have been placed in competition with the loss of ten or twelve battalions. This is now become matter of old history. There was a period just before the arrival of the guards, and before our boats were ready and collected, when the enterprise might have been very practicable, and when its success would perhaps have been fatal to this whole continent; but at the epoch to which he alludes, I am satisfied that we should have baffled him completely, even if the Prince de Coburg had not gained a single victory. In the other parts of his conversation his extravagance and vanity of ideas were such as to make every sentence that he uttered either ridiculous or disgusting.

I have not yet been able to ascertain whether Liege*

* The bishopric of Liege.

Hosted by Google

is to be considered as a conquered country, but I conceive that it would be very expedient to treat it as such; at least not to decide anything to the contrary till the pacification can be settled. This may be particularly desirable in respect to Maestricht.*

The Count de Stahremberg has seen the instruction given to the Count de Mercy. As far as I can learn from what he has thought proper to confide to me, M. de Mercy is to discuss with your Lordship the justice and means of indemnifying Austria for her expense in the war, and the reasonableness of expecting his Majesty's concurrence in the plan of exchange of Bavaria for the Low Countries. But M. de Stahremberg seemed to give me ground to believe that if this last point is strongly and decidedly opposed by us, it will not be insisted on.

In mentioning that project, he assured me that M. de Jacobi †, in a late letter to the King of Prussia, had said that his Majesty's ministers now acquiesce with cheerfulness, and with a degree of cordiality, in the new partition of Poland. M. de Jacobi is perfectly capable of risking such an assertion without grounds for it, if he thinks it likely to promote any collateral purpose recommended to him by M. Luchesini. I shall know more on those subjects, perhaps, when I see M. de Mercy. In the mean time, your Lordship will have received the declaration of the Russian general, in the name of the Empress, according to which her Imperial Majesty takes forcible possession of a peaceful and unoffending country, "for the benefit of the Holy Christian religion," and in order, "under the protection of God, to prevent the propagation of violent and unjust principles."

I am, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

* The Dutch were very anxious for their "indemnity."
† Prussian Minister in London.

Hosted by Google

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Whitehall, April 16th, 1793.

My Lord, — Your Excellency's several despatches to No. 77 inclusive have been duly received and laid before the King.

I send your Excellency enclosed copies of two despatches of this date, from Mr. Secretary Dundas* to Sir James Murray, on which it will be unnecessary for me to make any observations, as they will of themselves sufficiently explain his Majesty's views with regard to the operations of the forces under the command of his Royal Highness the Duke of York.

As your Excellency will very soon have an opportunity of seeing Count Mercy, it will on every account be proper for you to press his immediate journey to this country, as your Excellency will perceive, from the enclosed copies of Mr. Dundas's despatches, that no definitive arrangement, with respect to his Majesty's co-operation with Austria, has yet been settled; nor can any such definitive arrangement be concluded until the arrival of Count Mercy shall enable his Majesty's servants to know with precision and certainty the views of his Imperial Majesty on the present occasion.

I am, with great truth and respect, my Lord, your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

GRENVILLE.

Mr. Dundas to Sir James† Murray.

(Private.) Whitehall, April 16th, 1793.

Sir, — In my public despatch of this date, I have conveyed to you the commands of his Majesty, and the sentiments of his confidential servants, in such

* Now Minister of War. † Afterwards Sir James Pulteney.

Hosted by Google

terms as may enable you to make any communication of that despatch which the Duke of York may find expedient for the success of the objects to which it is directed. I think it proper, in this separate mode, to communicate to you with still less reserve some particulars which appear to merit attention.

You will observe that in treating of the expedition his Majesty wishes to be undertaken for the capture of Dunkirk*, I have hinted at the propriety of that expedition, with a view of rendering more palatable to the feelings of this country the extensive co-operation in the Low Countries which it may be ultimately advisable to adopt. But I wish, in a more especial manner, to impress you with the importance of that consideration, in order that it may be enforced with every possible urgency.

The security of the Netherlands as a barrier to the ambition of France, and a frontier to the United Provinces, is a motive for acting so well understood by all thinking men, it may be felt and stated as truly a British interest. But you are well aware that there exists in this country many strong prejudices against continental wars; and, with many, a strong prepossession against the strength of this country being directed in any other channel than that of naval operations. It is extremely essential to meet those prejudices on as strong grounds as possible. The early capture of Dunkirk would operate most essentially in that point of view, and the expedition successfully conducted, under the command of a prince of the blood, would give much *éclat* to the commencement of the war. I trust, therefore, to your own discretion to enforce this topic with all your power in every conference on the subject; and by that and every other argument, to urge the Prince of Coburg to make the capture of Dunkirk one of the earliest objects of the campaign.

* The expedition against Dunkirk was ordered from home.—See *Calvert Correspondence*, pp. 426, 427.

Hosted by Google

I must recommend to your attention another subject to be distinctly stated to his Royal Highness the Duke of York. There has appeared a backwardness on the part of the German Powers to lay before his Majesty and his ministers an explicit account of their ulterior views, either in the conduct of the war, or in the termination of it. It is impossible for his Majesty's servants to advise his Majesty to give a blind co-operation to measures not distinctly explained. I think I may, without any reserve, state to you that no operation of the combined armies on the Continent can be so essential in our eyes as those whose ultimate tendency is to establish the Netherlands in the possession of the House of Austria, with such extended and safe frontier as may secure the independence and tranquillity of Holland; and so far as opportunity occurs, you will lose no means of resisting every idea of a deviation from that system.

If you perceive, at an early period of your interviews, that there is a prospect of a co-operation such as I have pointed out, you will lose no time in communicating that information to me, accompanied with such detail of what artillery or other requisites may be wanted for the speedy execution of the enterprise, if it is to be adopted. His Majesty will, in the mean time, give every proper direction for having every preparatory measure in due forwardness for assembling at Ostend; but it will occur to you that in giving those directions, much aid will be derived from early and frequent suggestions from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and those who are to act under him in the conduct of the expedition.

I likewise think it proper to suggest to his Royal Highness's attention, that if the expedition to Dunkirk is likely soon to take place, it may be material, in concert with the Prince of Coburg, to have an immediate eye to such measures as may most effectually tend to prevent all supplies by land being thrown into that place, which may serve to retard the success of the expedition; and the early

Hosted by Google

information I have desired will likewise be material in this respect, in so far as it will enable us to judge in what manner any naval co-operation may be employed for the same purpose.

I will not detain you longer at present, but have the honour, &c.,

HENRY DUNDAS.

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

(Private.) Hague, April 16th, 1793.

My dear Lord,—What Lord Elgin mentions relative to M. de Luchesini's affected suspicions of our sincerity, and the tone assumed in adverting to our Russian Convention, is conformable to the system in which the Prussian ministers indulge themselves on every occasion. I was too busy at the time to advert to it; but when, on the 18th March, I presented a memorial to the States to give due credit to their successful exertions in their defence, and to prepare them for the departure of the English troops, and for the withdrawing of the English gun-boats, the Comte de Keller wrote a despatch to his Prussian Majesty, and also to Berlin, to say that England did not mean to look further than to the safety of herself and of Holland, and that the English Ambassador had announced that intention; and yet in the very memorial, *then before him*, it was stated that the moment was come "pour concerter des mesures ultérieures de coopération générale; et que la guerre ne saurait être amenée à une heureuse fin que par les plus vigoureux efforts et l'activité la plus soutenue." I afterwards, through the same secret channel, saw letters from Luchesini, pretending to complain of our "égoïsme." In all this, so far as Keller is concerned, there is a mixture of constitutional moroseness and of envy, which gives an unfair colour to every report that he sends, and has occasioned a decided reserve between him and the Dutch ministers; but

Hosted by Google

on the part of Luchesini * the evil lies deeper. He is too much of a politician to make such accusations, even if he believed that they were well founded, if they were not connected with some plan and intrigue that he has in view. I suspect that one object is to give suspicions of us to the Austrian ministers; but M. de Mercy is aware of all this, and will be fair enough with respect to it, more especially as he is desirous to cultivate a friendship between the English and Austrian Cabinets.

I can scarcely persuade myself that Dumouriez is really going into Switzerland †; I even doubt whether he would be perfectly safe there. His vauntings increase with his disgraces. In talking with Stahremberg he was not ashamed to say, "*Ma réputation militaire s'est avancée depuis six mois à pas de géant.*" "*Votre armée, M. le Comte, est excellente; si je la commandais, elle serait invincible, et pourrait donner la loi à l'univers.*" The whole of his conversation was in this style. He clearly meant to take possession of the Prince of Coburg, and, in his own phrase, "de coaliser les puissances." We had the good fortune to disappoint him; but he is capable of some new mischief, and should be well watched.

I am, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

Captain Bentinck to Lord Auckland.

Braine Le Compte, April 17th, 1793.

My Lord,—I am just arrived here, and sit down to give you an account of a curious conversation I had to-day with Colonel Mack on the subject of the war. He was very unwell, from the severe exercise he took yesterday in making the rounds of the army, and his

* The King of Prussia's favourite.

† In June Dumouriez went to England, but he was sent out of the country by the Government.

Hosted by Google

prospects just then were not very brilliant. He stated the Austrian forces now at 35,000 men, occupying a great extent of country from Maubeuge, where there is a corps, to the Camp de Maulde, Prince Charles commanding another corps on the left of head-quarters, Prince Wurtemberg on the right at Condé, General Clairfayt at Bruille, and now advanced in part to Vicogne, to support the post at Azin, a small body at St. Amand, and another with some Prussians at Maulde. He said head-quarters were so weak as to have obliged Prince Coburg to take part of Prince Wurtemberg's corps to support St. Sauve.

As to reinforcements, Mack said that at least three weeks must be given for assembling all the allies, and that, if then assembled, Prince Coburg did not possess a single battering cannon. The small train which was promised by Holland against Namur, had that town stood a siege, has been refused by the Prince of Hesse for the investing Condé, *because leave was only obtained for Namur.* This is too absurd. The King of Prussia has taken possession of the train destined for the Low Countries, and writes that Prince Coburg should get his from Holland. The time required for the arrival of any train will be near one month, during which time the allies can only blockade Condé and watch the other towns. The French, in the interval, have full leisure to supply Valenciennes, being in possession of the high grounds of Famars, and entrenching themselves there. They will also have time to garrison and provision Maubeuge, Le Quesnoy, Lille, Arras, Douay, &c., &c., and whenever the Austrians open their operations, the first effort must be a very serious attack on Famars, which we must expect, after the affairs of the 16th, 18th, and 22nd of March, will be defended with bravery and skill. If carried, the victory will cost a number of men, and if not carried, Mack's apprehensions are unlimited. Valenciennes alone, he says, will require from 25,000 to 30,000 men. To this must be added an army of

Hosted by Google

observation of near 40,000 men to cover the besiegers, and there should be an army of 25,000 men between Condé and the sea, or the French will make incursions from Lille into Brabant. Mack, after a very long detail, of which I only gave your Lordship the heads, as I hope soon to have the honour of seeing you, concluded that if Valenciennes did not surrender immediately on its being attacked, it would require three months to reduce it. That brings us to the fall, and all this under the supposition that we first take Condé, then carry Famars, and meet with no kind of check, for he said he dreaded the smallest check more than he ever did.

Mack told me Prince Coburg had written to the Duke of York to urge his Royal Highness taking possession of Tournay, that the Austrians now at Maulde and St. Amand might push on to General Clairfayt, and the Prussians or Dutch possess themselves of the environs of Maubeuge. With this disposition, Prince Coburg could unite his army, and when the reinforcements arrived (which they do every day), he should be able to prevent any attempt to raise the blockade of Condé, which, if the French were now in force, they might do with infinite ease. They are every day increasing, and there is not as yet any prospect of ever getting Condé. Mack assured me that, opposed to any army but the French, Prince Coburg dared not present such an unconnected front, but that, trusting much to the confusion of the enemy, and their fear of the Austrian army, he had taken these posts, and hoped the Duke of York and the Prince of Orange would move with all speed to support the position.

Mack asked me what could be the object of the war, and whether England expected to repay herself for the expenses. To this, of course, I gave a vague answer. I put the same question to him with respect to Austria. He assured me they had not an idea of conquest, — that the only thing they could wish would be the possession of Maestricht, Valenciennes,

Hosted by Google

Condé, and Lille, to protect the entry to the Low Countries. I asked him if he thought that object was worth, and could be acquired in one campaign. He doubted the probability of getting any two of these towns this campaign, and only wished that peace could be made, for that the resources of Austria had been so drained, in men as well as money, for the last eight years, that quiet became necessary. Prince Wurtemberg holds the same language, and assures me it is that of the Emperor. Of course Mack speaks the sentiments of Prince Coburg. In most points he evidently leads them.

It seems to me, the possession of the Low Countries has materially altered the state of politics for the Court of Vienna, and as they do not expect to keep the frontier towns, they may well ask, what to them is the object of the war? In the negotiation with Dumouriez, the prospect of holding Lille and Valenciennes was only for the purpose of restoring tranquillity to France, and the Dauphin to his throne, when they were expressly to be given up. They now scarcely expect to take them, and are possessed of all their territories. Is not, then, peace what they must naturally look to?

If the exchange for Bavaria takes place, it cannot be effected till the country is quiet; and if it does not take place, the country is not worth keeping, if to be fought for. To this must be added the jealousy of the King of Prussia's conduct; and in proof of the pacific intentions of the late Emperor*, Prince Wurtemberg assured me that he had offered to restore Gallicia to Poland, upon condition Prussia and Russia would also give up the shares they had taken. Mack concluded by saying the hopes of Austria rested entirely on England.

Your Lordship will very shortly receive from Mack a more correct statement of the negotiation between Prince Coburg and General Dumouriez than that

* Leopold.

Hosted by Google

the colonel had the honour of giving your Lordship at Antwerp.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, your most obedient, humble servant,

W. BENTINCK.

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

Hague, April 23rd, 1793.

My Lord,—Captain Bentinck, who brought your Lordship's despatches to me at Antwerp, on the 7th instant, undertook at my request to go to Brussels on a commission to the Comte de Mercy, of which I have already rendered an account to your Lordship. He was next to proceed to the different posts of the Austrian army. He returned to this place last night, after having passed some days at the Prince de Wurtemberg's quarters in the Bois de Bon Secours. Captain Bentinck being a judicious observer, and possessing much recent information, I have thought proper to desire him to proceed to England with this despatch, and beg leave to refer to him for further particulars.

He was on the 17th at the Prince de Coburg's head-quarters, which are still at Quievrain. The Archduke Charles commands a corps on the left, towards Maubeuge. The Prince of Wurtemberg is on the right. The General Clairfayt is at Bruille, which the Colonel de Mack says is a very advantageous position. He has also an advanced corps at Vicogne to support the corps at Anzin (near to Valenciennes). There is a small body at St. Amand, and General Knoblesdorff is with a part of the Prussians at Maulde. Condé may be considered as completely invested, and exclusive of the post at Anzin, the Prince de Coburg has established a small body of troops on the opposite side of the Escaut at St. Sauve. Besides the several detachments thus employed, the cordon to be guarded is from Tournay to Maubeuge, a distance of not less

Hosted by Google

than thirty miles. M. de Mack affects to consider the whole Austrian force as not more than 35,000 men; and I do not suppose that it in truth much exceeds 40,000 (though some considerable reinforcements have lately arrived). This, however, is exclusive of the 8000 Prussians. On the other hand, the French garrison of Valenciennes is said to be strong, and the French are collecting a considerable army on the elevated ground of Famars, at a small distance from Valenciennes. It is already reported to be above 30,000 men, and is said to be increasing.

Under these circumstances the Prince of Coburg, who probably thinks it an object of the first necessity to attack and to disperse the new army of the enemy, represents the necessity of his left wing towards Maubeuge being covered by the Prussians or the Dutch, and his right by the troops under his Royal Highness the Duke of York, who will accordingly have received an application to advance to Tournay.

This proposition is contrary to what had been settled in the conferences at Antwerp and ill suited to the early accomplishment of the objects * so forcibly stated in Mr. Dundas's despatches of the 18th instant, to Sir James Murray. It furnishes a new reason, if reasons were wanting, for a full and decided explanation as to the views and situation of the parties engaged in the war. The consideration would be very different, if it were clearly stated that immediately after dispersing the army collected at Famars, the operations against the other places should go forward on some plan acceptable to his Majesty; but otherwise we remain exposed to see the armies under his Royal Highness the Duke of York and the hereditary Prince of Orange absorbed into the mass of the Austrian forces and applied through the campaign to unexplained purposes. I lay a more particular stress on this remark, which might otherwise be thought unreasonably suspicious, because Colonel de Mack's

* The siege of Dunkirk.

Hosted by Google

expressions to Captain Bentinck respecting the existing circumstances and prospects of the war, appear to me far below the expectations which we are authorised to form from a fair and dispassionate view of our own situation and that of the enemy. It is possible that M. de Mack's language may have been affected by a slight disorder, and from recent fatigue at the moment. It is also possible that he feels some discontent under the history of the Prince de Coburg's first and second declaration, relative to which I am to receive a farther paper from him. Perhaps also he finds it political to exaggerate the difficulties of the position, in order to obtain further exertions from the other powers, and also to heighten the merits of such new successes as may be expected. Your Lordship will form the best judgment on these points after conversing with Captain Bentinck.

The first columns of Hanoverians and Dutch troops were yesterday at Alost. Some Dutch corps also marched three days ago from Maestricht. The hereditary Prince, who leaves this place to-night, assures me that he shall have above 20,000 men, including between 3000 and 4000 cavalry.

I am, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Whitehall, April 23rd, 1793.

My Lord,—Your Excellency's several despatches to No. 79 have been duly received and laid before the King.

A despatch was received yesterday by Mr. Dundas from Sir James Murray, containing a fresh requisition from the Prince of Saxe-Coburg to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, for his Royal Highness to advance with the British troops to Tournay, for the purpose of co-operating with the Austrian army. This circumstance makes it more than ever necessary that your Excellency should press strongly upon

Hosted by Google

Count Mercy the necessity of his coming immediately over to England, as it is indispensable that the whole of the present situation of affairs should be fully explained with the Court of Vienna, before this country directly adopts its line of operations on the Continent.

I am, with great truth and respect, my Lord, your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

GRENVILLE.

Hosted by Google

CHAP. XXVI.

Austria opposed to the Partition of Poland.—Sheridan's Attack on Lord Auckland.—The Indemnity for Holland.—Letter of Quentin Craufurd on the State of Affairs.—Lord Auckland's Interview with Count de Mercy.—Claims of Monsieur to be recognised as Regent of France.—Vacillating Conduct of Prussia.—Conduct of Dumouriez.—The Empress of Russia.—Defeat of the French.—Count de Stahremberg proceeds to England to negotiate a Treaty between Austria and England.—Letter of Congratulation from Mr. Pitt.—Maréchal de Castries protests against the Dismemberment of France.—Jealousy of Austria respecting Dunkirk.—Marie Antoinette and Madame Elizabeth in the Temple.—Resignation of Mack.

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

(Secret.) Hague, April 26th, 1793.

My Lord,—I transmitted to your Lordship yesterday, by an extra packet, the communication of an intended overture from the Court of Vienna, for an alliance with his Majesty. Despatches of the 13th from M. de Thugut to the Comte de Mercy had also arrived here by estafette, and yesterday a messenger came with despatches of the 15th to the same minister. I mention these circumstances because, on a reference to dates, they tend to show that the new system* which the Austrian Cabinet is bringing forward has been suggested by the late transactions in Poland.

I find further evidence of this in a long letter of the 18th from the Prince de Stahremberg, which has been confided to me. It complains of the rapacious measures of the Courts of Petersburg and Berlin. It mentions the negative given by the Emperor to the application made for his sanction to what had been done. It expresses uneasiness at the manner in which

* The exchange for Bavaria.

Hosted by Google

that negative is worded, as likely in its effects to weaken and to interrupt the co-operation against France. Lastly, it refers with earnestness to the King's influence as the only resource against the evil, stating, however, the difficulties of separating Russia from Prussia, whom M. de Sievers*, in his last declaration, describes to be "unies relativement à la Pologne par un parfait concert de vues et de principes."

The same letter from the Prince de Stahremberg mentions that the project relative to the exchange of the Low Countries for Bavaria will be abandoned should the King desire it. In the course of what was said to me on this subject, it was remarked that the Pilnitz agreement (of which M. de Mercy has a copy) was made by the late Emperor Leopold, and that his successor, though he had adopted it in general terms, had never considered himself as bound to more than a strict and rigid observance of it.

The proceedings on the Rhine are ill calculated to counterbalance the dissatisfaction which has taken place in other points. It will be difficult for his Prussian Majesty not to take Mayence, and it is probable that a capitulation in some mode or other will soon be obtained. But hitherto all advices concur in asserting that some unexplained system has taken place, which affords room for suspicions and conjectures; and, in the mean time, General Dumouriez complains that the operations of the allied armies on the Rhine are a mere nullity. Mayence is blockaded but not attacked; Landau is masked but not blockaded; and the main body of 30,000 effective men is in safe depôt in the middle, secure from harm or surprise.

I enclose copies of letters from Manheim and from Berlin, which may merit your Lordship's perusal.

I also send a letter which I received yesterday from Colonel de Mack, by Major-General Œdenberger, who is come to the Hague to expedite the sending of the

* Russian Ambassador at Warsaw, now employed in effecting the partition of Poland.

Hosted by Google

heavy artillery into Flanders. The inclosure* referred to in that letter is long, but it contains many curious particulars beyond what had appeared in M. de Mack's first sketches on the same subject.

I have, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, April 26th, 1793.

My dear Lord, — Sheridan's extraordinary notice brought me to town. In a note to the Lord Chancellor I had expressed a vigorous opinion on this subject. Yesterday morning I received a note from Mr. Pitt which desired me to call on him. He showed me a motion which approved the memorial. I said, my idea was to resolve the complaint to be frivolous and ill-founded or malicious, and that you merited, instead of reprehension, the thanks of Parliament, for your conduct in your several situations abroad, &c., or to that purpose; that many people objected to the memorial, and that the motion would decrease the majority on the question, and add some to the minority. He observed, that we had no papers before us to enable us to think or resolve on any part of your proceedings, except the memorial, and as I found some friends disliked the memorial, that it would be better to put a negative on the business. He spoke very highly of your services *tête-à-tête* to me, and in his answer to Sheridan, he said everything you could wish. It was an extraordinary fine speech even for him. You may tell him forthwith that I say he deserves your best thanks. Fox's reply was one of the lamest, poorest things I ever heard from him. Dundas and Burke were disposed to speak. Burke got up twice, but the House was so satisfied, that it would hear nothing, and nothing was heard but withdraw, withdraw. I meant to utter

* This enclosure contains an account of the negotiation between Mack and Dumouriez, which led to the proclamation of the 5th of April.

Hosted by Google

a few sentences, but it was not possible. Sheridan and his friends wished not to divide, but a mad fellow, Whitmore, insisted on a division in opposition to all their entreaties,—211 to 36.

I intended to have written more, but I have been that busy on the Select Committee (public credit) till five o'clock,—I think we shall do very essential good.

I do not see how you can be permitted to come home.

Yours ever,

SHEFFIELD.

Mr. George Rose to Lord Auckland.

Old Palace Yard, April 26th, 1793.

My dear Lord,—It is not easy to imagine so decided a triumph as the one of last night *in all respects*. Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox talked of everything but your paper, which was the ground of the proceeding, — attacking the conduct of the Empress of Russia, the Emperor and the King of Prussia, for the partition of Poland, the laying hold of Dantzig, &c., &c., except when they fortunately gave Mr. Pitt an opportunity of explaining the grounds of the war, and his ideas respecting a pacification, especially under the possible event of the present description of people retaining the executive power in France. He alone replied to the gentlemen above-mentioned, in one of the very best and most masterly speeches I ever heard from him, doing your Lordship justice to the very utmost of his power of language, not only as having essentially served this country in various instances where its dearest rights and most important interests were concerned, but in having lately preserved all Europe from dangers more alarming than it has been threatened with for centuries: I enclose you the motion and the state of the division. Mr. Sheridan was so good as to say, that if he succeeded in that he should follow it up*, as he originally

* With an impeachment.

Hosted by Google

gave notice. If there had been anything regularly before the House on which to ground it, Mr. Pitt would have moved a vote of warm approbation of your general conduct:—the Peerage will yet follow close enough to connect it unequivocally with your distinguished conduct lately. In the course of my life I never remember a debate *more comfortably left.* Mr. Burke would have risen after Mr. Fox, but the latter failed so entirely of making the smallest impression on the House, that there was an universal wish to prevent another word being said. The number of your friends would have been greater, but there was no prevailing on many to believe the division would be so early;—it was evident, too, that Mr. Sheridan did not wish to take the sense of the House, but Mr. Whitmore, two thirds drunk and one third mad, compelled it.

I am ever, my dear sir, most cordially and faithfully yours,

GEORGE ROSE.

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

Hague, April 29th, 1793.

My Lord,—I have little to add to my despatch of last night, in which I informed your Lordship that M. de Mercy's mission to England is postponed, and that he expects to receive instructions to repair to the army, in order to assist the Prince de Coburg with his counsels.

I confess it appears to me that the Austrian ministers build too much on the supposed necessity of our proceeding in the operations against France, without further explanation, and in whatever may best suit their present and future views. The King of Prussia reasoned in this manner with respect to the House of Austria in his arrangements with the late Emperor*, and in the extent which General

* Leopold.

Hosted by Google

Mollendorff's operations have given to those arrangements. The Empress of Russia is also converting to her own separate advantage the embarrassments which the French affairs have accumulated on the other powers of Europe. It is, however, one consolation, that whatever the Emperor * may be seeking to acquire, must be more or less at the expense of the strength and possessions of France; and as to the risk, it is not yet too late for us, without materially impeding the course of the campaign, to enforce the explanations on which we have so good a right to insist.

I remarked in strong terms to M. de Mercy, that the interests of this country † must not be overlooked. The idea seemed new to him. He said, indeed, that it would be wise and just to consider Liege as a conquered country, the people at large having voted themselves a department of France; but when he talked of giving in consequence of this an arrondissement to Maestricht, he suggested that it would be a great object if Maestricht would be ceded to whatever power may have the Austrian Netherlands. The Dutch ministers entertain very different ideas, and are well aware that they have imposed on this province, for the purposes of the war, a tax amounting to a whole year's income; that they are employing an army of 20,000 men under two Princes of the House of Orange upon the frontiers of France; that they are sending a considerable naval force to sea; and, I may add, though it is an object of smaller moment, that this day an order was given at the request of the Duke of Brunswick, for sixteen of the bateaux canonniers to be detached with their crews to assist in the siege of Mayence.

The Austrian general Œdenberger has obtained about 400,000 lbs. of powder here; but he says that he wants a more considerable supply, and has wished

* Francis II. † Holland.

Hosted by Google

me to learn whether any can be obtained from England.

I have, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

Mr. Craufurd to Lord Auckland.*

Brussels, April 29th, 1793.

My Lord, — I had the honour to write to your Lordship on the 25th, and sent my letter under cover to Messieurs Molière and Co., bankers at the Hague, in the hopes to avoid by that means its being opened at the post-office.

The measures that are taking here for restoring the ancient forms of government without reserve; the declaration made by M. de Metternich, which your Lordship will have seen in the Leyden Gazette; and a circumstance that happened some weeks before he left Wesel in February last, incline me to believe that the Court of Vienna has abandoned the project of the exchange of these provinces, or at least suspended it until some future opportunity. I understand that M. de Metternich wrote from Wesel to Vienna to say, that if the Emperor intended to yield the Low Countries for Bavaria, as seemed generally to be imagined, restoring the ancient constitution of them appeared to him not only to be unnecessary, but likely to render the execution of his intentions more difficult than if he entered the country as a conqueror. That in such case the general of his armies would be sufficient, nor could he as minister be of any use. That if his Majesty proposed to take possession of the country under the titles by which his family formerly held it, yet still, with the view of

* Mr. Quintin Craufurd, a gentleman well known in the fashionable and literary world, had long resided at Paris, where he attracted the notice of Marie Antoinette. He was the intimate friend of the Count de Mercy, and was now employed in giving very valuable information to the English Government respecting the state of affairs in the Netherlands.

Hosted by Google

transferring it to another, even then he should entreat his Majesty to excuse him from returning, and permit him to serve him somewhere else; but that if his Majesty meant to retain the country, and remove those real or imaginary grievances that were complained of by its inhabitants, he should be happy to be the instrument for executing his will, as he doubted not of being able, with due support, to acquit himself in such a manner as would ultimately be for the interest of his Majesty, and secure the tranquillity of the provinces. He was answered that the Emperor had no intention of divesting himself of the Low Countries; that he meant to govern them by their ancient laws, to hold them by those claims that had transferred them to his ancestors, and that he was willing to do whatever M. de Metternich might think necessary for removing every sort of doubt or jealousy from the minds of their inhabitants.

Yet still I cannot believe, my Lord, that the Court of Vienna has relinquished the hope of being able to obtain Bavaria. The Baron Thugut, with whom I have conversed on the subject, always considered the acquisition of Bavaria as an object* of the highest importance to the House of Austria, and a thing that was never to be lost sight of; while he thought the Low Countries rather an incumbrance than advantage, unless they could be governed and preserved without the necessity of sending a single regiment from Germany. He said that, separated from the Emperor's other dominions and chief force, they were constantly at the mercy of other powers, and that in order to preserve them he was exposed to be forced into concessions, perhaps incompatible with the dignity and interests of his crown. But your Lordship will agree, I think, that this was not altogether a fair state of the question. That Bavaria would be of more importance to the House of Austria than the

* Frederick the Great, in 1778 and 1785, had frustrated the Austrian designs on Bavaria.

Hosted by Google

Low Countries are, will not be doubted, at the same time it must be allowed that the Low Countries are a very valuable part of the Austrian dominions. The Empress, Marie Thérèse, found very great resources in them, especially in the Seven Years' War, not only from the surplus revenue that was remitted to Vienna, as well as several free donations, but by very considerable loans that were made to her, some of them under the guaranty of the States, and others on her simple obligation. The troops that are paid by the provinces served both in the war and in the short one that happened afterwards about the Bavarian succession. To govern the country without the aid of foreign troops will depend on the government; to defend it against invasion may be more difficult, but seems by no means impossible, especially if a new frontier be added to it, and when it is considered how unlikely it is that the House of Austria should be at war with France and England at the same time. The Baron, in pursuing the conversation, seemed to think, however, that neither the acquisition of Bavaria, nor indeed anything else, ought to lead the powers at war astray from the grand object of it, which was to repress the aggressions of the French, and stop the progress of, and, if possible, stifle principles and doctrines that threatened the subversion of every government, and the ruin of every country; that from the immense space that France occupied in Europe, its local situation, and the number and temper of its inhabitants, it was impossible to leave it in its present state of anarchy without risking the dissolution of the whole; that it should be reduced into order again, the people disarmed, the government restored, and that the powers who should render that great and necessary service, had a right to indemnify themselves for the expenses of a war which the French had not only excited, but commenced; that he thought the fittest way of doing so was by taking part of their conquests and usurpations, which, in his opinion, was indispen-

Hosted by Google

sably requisite to prevent them, should they ever recover their power again, from endangering the balance, and disturbing the tranquillity of Europe. This was in December last, when the Baron was on his way back to Vienna. He was then very anxious with respect to England. He said he spoke on the supposition that she would be induced, or compelled even by the French themselves, to take an active part in the war; for if she persisted in refusing to do so, and to keep aloof, it would be better for the Emperor to abandon it altogether, and remain on the defensive, than continue it under the risk of some future vexatious interference. I mention what appeared to be the sentiments of the Baron Thugut at a time when I believe he neither expected the place he now fills, nor even desired it; but I know not whether the opinions he professed then coincide with the language he may hold now, or whether on becoming a minister, he has not closed the book of everything that passed before that. I have been intimately acquainted with him for several years past; his talents and dispositions as a minister your Lordship, I dare say, will soon have opportunities to discover. In his private character he always appeared to me to be an unaffected and perfectly honourable man, reserved to strangers, but with his friends sufficiently communicative.

The Maréchal de Castries* has been here from Ham †, and is again returned thither, though he generally resides at Nimeguen. The object of his journey here was to see the Count de Mercy and M. de Metternich, and engage them to use their influence at the Court of Vienna, to prevail on the Emperor to acknowledge Monsieur as Regent; but I believe he by no means persuaded them of the propriety of this measure. M. de Mercy, at his request, forwarded a *Mémoire* on the subject to Vienna, which I am told is very specious, but nothing

* Minister of Marine under Louis XVI.
† Ham, in Westphalia, the residence of Monsieur.

Hosted by Google

more. The French are fruitful in ideas, and under their former government the writing of *Mémoires* may be said to have been a part of their education. But if the Queen and her son escape, and the monarchy be restored, I believe she is the person of all the Royal Family who would be the least exceptionable to the nation to fill the place of Regent. Her conduct has been such as must have excited admiration, even with those who have been the most violent enemies to royalty; she can command her resentments, and she has given abundant proofs both of her understanding and magnanimity.

M. de Valence is still here, but proposes soon to go to Switzerland. Some imagine that both Dumouriez and he have some correspondence with persons at Paris, and hopes of returning thither should Pethion's party prevail. While Dumouriez was at Brussels he endeavoured as much as he could to create suspicions with respect to the English and Prussians; but though what he said had no effect, I believe, it showed the temper of the man, who is now what he was formerly, with a great deal of cleverness, — a complete *intriguant.* He knows that whatever the opinion of the Austrians may be with regard to us, they are very much disposed to be jealous of the Prussians, and to blame their conduct, when there is any room for doing so. Even M. de Mercy, with all his good sense, cannot divest himself of this prejudice, or prevent himself from showing it. There are many complaints of the disorderly behaviour of the Prussian troops that were at Tournay, and, I apprehend, not without reason.

The Archduke Charles made his public entry here yesterday, amidst the acclamations of a great concourse of people, who came here for that occasion from different parts of the country. The States are to assemble on the 6th, and it is expected that a free donation will be offered towards defraying the expenses of the present war. The nobility, clergy, and indeed the nation in general, seem to be fully

Hosted by Google

aware of the danger from which they have escaped, and to think that they owe the preservation of their religion and property to the successes of the Austrian arms.

I have seen letters from Stockholm of the 18th of this month, that represent the ministers of the Regent* as being in the most intimate correspondence with the executive power at Paris, which they say is carried on through M. de Staël, who was sent thither on purpose.

I believe I shall be under the necessity, on account of some private affairs, to go for a week or two to England; but during my absence, or until the arrival of some one on the part of our Court, M. de Simolin† has promised to transmit your Lordship the newspapers, and an account of any circumstances that may be worthy of your attention. As I understand that it is necessary to be furnished with a passport, your Lordship will very much oblige me by desiring your secretary to have the goodness to send me one by the return of the post.

I have the honour to be, with very sincere respect and attachment, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and obedient, humble servant,

QU. CRAUFURD.

P.S.—The armies remain nearly in the same positions that I had the honour to mention in my letter of the 25th. Little doubt seems to be entertained of the speedy surrender of Condé, and it is imagined, from several circumstances, that M. de Coburg meditates some decisive blow at the French army at Famars.

* The Duke of Sudermania,

† Formerly Russian Minister at Paris.

Hosted by Google

Captain Bentinck to Lord Auckland.

Stratton Street, April 30th, 1793.

My dear Lord,—Your letters to Lord Grenville and to Lord Loughborough I delivered myself, and those you gave me for the Archbishop of Canterbury and Mr. Rose, Lord Grenville was so good as to send. I made my report to Lord Grenville and Mr. Dundas, but not in the black colours in which Mack painted. Your Lordship mentioned to Lord Loughborough that my view was rather gloomy, and he made me tell him why. I hope very soon to hear of the surrender of Condé, for I have been long enough in England to catch the disease of the country, particularly as by sea we surprise you with such immense recaptures. The ship and cargo taken by Admiral Gell are estimated at £800,000.

Lord Hood is expected to sail in two or three days. His fleet is, I understand, nearly manned. I have hopes of being commissioned at a very early day for the "Adamant," of fifty guns. I hardly know whether to be glad or not, as it deprives me of the pleasure of being obliged to your Lordship for another trip to the armies, unless anything should occur in which Lord Loughborough can employ me. There is one idea I wish to communicate to you, and request your aid. It is wished in this country that some accurate account could be obtained of the state of the insurgents near Nantes, and on the south side of the Loire. I mentioned my wish of feeling that ground to Lord Loughborough, who, I am sure, would give me his assistance, and I could wish your Lordship to do the same if you think the plan comes within your ideas of utility. I could wish to go to the Isle Noirmoutier in a ship of war, and endeavour to get some communication with the person who, it is said, commands there for the insurgents, and through him with Gaston or any other man of consequence in the cause. I should not, of course, go on there myself, or suffer

Hosted by Google

any one else to go till I had found it safe to do so; and I might be able to discover the force of this party and what progress they were making, upon which might be determined if any assistance given to them would tend to assist the common cause. Your Lordship will judge whether in this you can give me a push; and if you think the thing eligible, I should think a hint to administration in my favour would secure me the preference. I shall only add that Colonel Mack wished very much he could procure certain intelligence from that quarter, which, if I can get upon the coast, I have little doubt I should be able to acquire. If you can, pray do get me this mission.

We wait the confirmation of the news of 26th from Paris, in which it is said that Danton, Robespierre, and Marat were killed, and Brissot's party masters of the town. I beg my very best wishes to Lady Auckland and the Misses Eden.

I remain, my dear Lord, your very obedient, humble servant,

W. BENTINCK.

P.S.—Lord Loughborough desires me to say he is supplied with horses by some dealer in town.

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

Hague, April 30th, 1793.

My Lord,—I wrote to your Lordship last night by the messenger Basilico, who went with despatches from Constantinople and from Vienna. He was accompanied by an Austrian messenger, with letters and instructions from the Comte de Mercy to M. de Stadion.* These papers were to have been sent to-day from my house, and were to have been previously confided to me, but thinking it material to expedite their arrival in England, I sent the messenger yesterday through Rotterdam to receive them. I have reason, however, to believe that they will be communicated to your Lordship, and I understand that they

* Austrian Minister in London.

Hosted by Google

relate chiefly to the Polish affairs. They also contain several reasonings, calculated to show the expediency of our agreeing to the exchange of the Low Countries for Bavaria. There is among the Polish communications a copy of the treaty concluded in January between Russia and Prussia, which it may be material to obtain.

The Comte de Mercy made me a long visit this morning, and afterwards dined with me. He was sufficiently communicative, and allowed me to peruse several curious papers which he had brought with him. I will take some subsequent occasion to mention them more particularly. There was among those papers a letter of civility, from Monsieur (Comte de Provence), written in the character of Regent, and a long memoir by the Maréchal de Castries* "on the illegality and danger of any arrangement to be attempted by the combined powers, in respect to France, otherwise than under Etats-Généraux, to be summoned by the Regent in the name of Louis XVII."

M. de Mercy took the occasion to intimate that his Court was not disposed to acknowledge the Regency, and also that the Emperor would agree to any plan for acknowledging such future government in France as the combined powers, and particularly his Majesty, may think most suitable to circumstances.

It appeared in the course of the conference that the despatches and instructions to M. de Stadion have no relation to the military matters, or to the conduct of the campaign. M. de Mercy persisted in saying (what I am far from admitting) that the co-operations of attack can only be settled among the generals commanding, but (which I am far from believing), that an implicit deference will be shown towards his Majesty's wishes, whether in respect to Dunkirk or other places. He added (and in this point I concur with him) that it is essentially necessary to strike some decisive blow against France in the course of this year;

* Minister of Marine under Louis XVI.

Hosted by Google

and that we must not rely on the continued co-operation of so many powers, distracted by intrigues and jarring interests, subject also to unfavourable events, and unable to support the expenses of another campaign.

He reverted in great detail to the subject of Poland. He said that the additional revenue of the King of Prussia from his new portion, if it remained in his hands, would be 8,000,000 florins (about 800,000*l.*), and the Russian share was still more valuable. He added (as if in the strictest confidence) that the Emperor would do everything possible, by soliciting his Majesty's interference and alliance, and by friendly expostulations, to bring the other powers to relinquish these extravagant and unjust seizures; but that if he could not prevail on them, he must be driven by necessity, and by a sense of self-preservation, and of duty to his subjects, to take a proportionate share in the spoil, and to pursue the same line of conduct which had been adopted in the first* partition of Poland. M. de Mercy has not yet received the promised instruction from Vienna for his mission to the army.

It appears in a private letter from the Prince de Stahremberg to his son, that M. de Trautmandorf is sent on some confidential business into the Austrian Netherlands.

I have letters from Brussels dated yesterday. The States are to assemble on the 6th May, and it is expected that a free donation will be offered towards defraying the expenses of the war.

The armies remain nearly in the same position described in my last despatches. Little doubt seems to be entertained of the speedy surrender of Condé, and it is imagined from several circumstances that the Prince de Coburg is seeking an occasion to strike some decisive blow against the French army at Famars.

* Maria Theresa was opposed to the first partition of Poland.

Hosted by Google

We have letters and papers from Paris of the 26th. Marat's faction was then uppermost. He had been acquitted by the Extraordinary Tribunal, and had appeared in the Convention Nationale crowned with laurels, and surrounded with a mob whose approach had induced part of the members to make a sudden retreat. The Contre-Révolutionnaires in the department of the Maine-et-Loir (Anjou) had dispersed the army sent against them. It was reported that M. de Gaston had been killed.

I enclose an extract of a letter from Manheim. It contains an insinuation respecting the unsteadiness of the Prussian Councils, which I see and hear repeated from various quarters. Whatever ground there may be for such a suspicion, it is much to be regretted that your Lordship's original proposition, for assembling plenipotentiaries from the several combined powers was not cordially adopted and carried into execution. It would now, I fear, be too late to revert to it.

I have, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

Letter from Manheim.

(Extrait.) Manheim, le 23 avril 1793.

Les Français avaient quitté Deux Ponts le 18 du mois. On se flattait de ne plus les revoir, mais on se trompa. Ils reparurent déjà le lendemain et établirent leur quartier-général à Hombourg, où ils campent. Cette nouvelle apparition d'une armée française a de quoi étonner. Monseigneur le Duc de Brunswick et le Prince de Hohenlohe vinrent à Carlsberg le 18 du mois. On attendait les Prussiens à tout moment, et le lendemain les Français reparaissent.

C'est l'armée de la Moselle, commandée par L'Andremont. Custine est arrivé du côté de Bliescastel; il vient d'être nommé Général en Chef des Armées du Rhin, des Vosges et de la Moselle.

Le Prince Maximilien de Deux Ponts va servir comme volontaire dans l'armée prussienne.

Hosted by Google

Ce n'était pas seulement la capitulation de Mayence que Rewbel vint offrir l'autre jour, c'était une paix séparée, que ce *quidam* osa proposer au Roi.*

(Signé) LUCIUS.

Letter from Manheim.

Manheim, ce 30 avril 1793.

Mes nouvelles sont peu intéressantes, en égard qu'elles partent d'un point central, environné de cinq armées qui forment une force de 90,000 hommes.

Voici quelques traits d'une conversation avec le général Dumouriez à son passage par Francfort. Le prince Reuss, général, et le comte de Schlik, ministre de l'Empereur, &c., y ont été présens.

Mon ami ayant témoigné le désir de connaître les motifs qui l'avaient engagé à quitter les 2000 hommes de son armée, après avoir déclaré dans son adresse aux Français vouloir conduire l'armée Impériale à Paris pour terminer cette scène tragique, il répliqua : "J'aurais certainement rempli ce but salutaire pour la France, et pour toute l'Europe, si le résultat du Congrès d'Anvers ne m'eut que trop prouvé que la même politique perfide de l'année passée dictait encore les démarches des puissances belligérentes, et ne tendait qu'au démembrement de la France. Je dois donc attendre un moment plus heureux pour coopérer au service de ma patrie." En adressant ici la parole à un homme en place au service de la Cour de Vienne, il ajouta : "Prenez-y garde, il vous arrivera comme aux voleurs de grand chemin, qui, après avoir pillé un coche, se brouillent et s'entre-égorgent, lorsqu'il s'agit du partage du butin." Cette sortie violente prouve l'impétuosité de l'âme de cet homme. Cependant il ne venait que de cesser, malgré lui, d'être voleur de grand chemin. Pour le faire avouer la scéleratesse, M. K——†, après avoir remarqué que "puisqu'il con-

* Of Prussia.

† Probably Admiral Kinkel.

Hosted by Google

venait que la France avait fait beaucoup de sottises et de méchancetés, il était juste aussi qu'il en payera la façon, dit: "Il est bien malheureux, général, pour vous, et peut-être pour l'humanité, que votre armée vous ait abandonné, et ait fait manquer votre plan; cependant je vous avoue que j'aime mieux vous voir ici que de vous savoir à Amsterdam." "Oui," répondit Dumouriez, "deux fois 24 heures de différence la Hollande était à moi; avec l'argent des Hollandais on aurait pu tout faire,—j'aurais pris une mesure qui aurait étonné toute l'Europe."

L'on a voulu engager le Roi à faire arrêter le général avec Madame de Genlis, regardée avec raison comme une des principales motrices de tous les malheurs arrivés en France. Sa Majesté a cru que les passeports du Prince de Coburg interdisaient cette demande à sa loyauté.

Le général Wurmser va mieux, mais son grand âge n'autorise aucune espérance sur l'utilité de cet officier.

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

Hague, May 3rd, 1793.

My Lord,—I send three enclosures with intelligence from Oppenheim and Manheim. Whatever may be the cause, it is very certain that the Prussian generals and ministers have shown more energy and efficiency in the affairs which regard the dismemberment of Poland than in those which relate to the prosecution of the war against France.

The several Austrian ministers whom I had occasion to see in the course of the last month, do not conceal their suspicion and discontent on this subject. It is a fact that the King of Prussia lately sent a requisition for the 8000 men who are with the Austrian army. General Œdenberger was present when the Prince de Coburg received the letter. The troops were not sent, but a great part of the Prussian artillery, which was also required, is given up and is gone to Mayence.

Hosted by Google

The Comte de Mercy was with me this morning, and we dined at the Stadhouder's Court. He has not yet received the promised despatches from Vienna, and intends at all events to proceed to Brussels on Monday next. He confided to me a letter, which he has sent to the Prince de Reuss at Oppenheim, to urge on his Prussian Majesty the necessity of every possible exertion to bring the war to an early and safe termination.

I annex the copy of a private bulletin which I have just received from Brussels.

I have, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

Hague, May 6th, 1793.

My Lord,—On the 4th, in the evening, we received expresses from M. de Metternich and from the hereditary Prince of Orange, with accounts that on the 1st inst., at the break of day, the French attempted a blow on every side of the Austrian army. They began a false attack on the villages of St. Sauve, whilst they directed their principal force toward Cautain and Curgies, and Estroen against the left wing of the army. They were repulsed in all these attempts, and pursued to the Camp de Famars, leaving behind them thirteen pieces of cannon and a great number of waggons, with ammunition. The Austrians advanced three leagues on French ground, and gained possession of some heights which menace both Valenciennes and Quesnoy.

This morning the Comte de Stahremberg received by estafette the farther accounts (to the 3rd inst.), of which I enclose a very hasty translation. Your Lordship will, perhaps, have already received correct and more immediate accounts from the Duke of York, his Royal Highness having been present in the different actions. I am sorry to remark, that the French show an unbroken spirit and perseverance under such

Hosted by Google

repeated defeats. I enclose a bulletin from Manheim. It tends to strengthen the suspicion stated by Mr. Walpole*, that the Austrians are preparing to take possession of Bavaria. If there really exists such an intention, I have many reasons to believe that it has not been confided to the Comte de Mercy, though it is possible that he would have lent himself to effectuate it, even under a cover of assurances to Great Britain that his Imperial Majesty is disposed to relinquish the whole idea. It is not yet certain that the French troubles will be so far appeased as to cease to be dangerous to all civil society and to the existence of every established government. But it is very certain that in the midst of this storm the other continental powers are infatuated by short-sighted views of aggrandisement, and are laying the foundation of a long succession of wars. I see no chance of remedy but by going to the root of the evil, and by enforcing a full and complete explanation.

I have, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

Hague, May 8th, 1793.

My Lord, — Sylvester, whom I had sent to the Duke of York with some papers belonging to his Royal Highness, and with maps from Mr. Craufurd, carried also a few lines to the Colonel de Mack at Quievrain. He returned late last night, and brought me a letter from the Prince de Coburg. I transcribe from it the following passage: —

"Le colonel de Mack m'a communiqué la lettre de V. E. Toutes les observations qu'elle fait sur l'état actuel des choses, la grande tâche qu'il nous reste à remplir, les plans à combiner, et les succès qu'on devrait s'efforcer d'avoir contre les armées

* English Minister at Munich.

Hosted by Google

ennemies qui sont en campagne, sont certainement très-justes. Mais, milord, la base fondamentale de toutes nos opérations, soit contre les armées, soit contre les places françaises, est, comme vous le sentez mieux que personne, la réunion certaine aux époques et dans la quantité déterminées de toutes les troupes auxiliaires qu'on s'est réciproquement engagé de fournir. Tout est compté, et le calcul du tems est presque aussi essentiel à nos progrès que celui du nombre.

"Votre Excellence aura été instruit des détails de l'action du 1er mai. C'était une attaque générale sur tous les points de notre position. L'ennemi a été repoussé partout. Il a été reçu le 2 avec autant de valeur que de convenance et de succès, par Mgr. le Duc de York. Je suis persuadé qu'il n'y a rien qu'on ne doive attendre de semblables troupes sous un semblable chef, et je désire vivement pour leur gloire et nos succès que tout l'ensemble des différentes troupes qui doivent se trouver sous les ordres de S. A. Royale accélèrent leur marche et arrivent le plus tôt possible à leur destination."

I have, at the same time, received a letter of the 6th instant, from his Royal Highness the Duke of York. I transcribe from it the following paragraph:—

"Since my letter to your Lordship by M. de Maltzahn, nothing new has passed here; the French have formed their camp again at the Gul de la Madelaine at Lille, and it is said that between the town and the country they have near 25,000 men. Colonel de Mack came here two days ago, and brought the Prince of Coburg's plan for the campaign, which I have transmitted to England, and am waiting his Majesty's orders about it."

I have, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

Hosted by Google

Mr. W. Eliot to Lord Auckland.*

Berlin, May 9th, 1793.

My dear Lord,—The condescension with which the Empress† deigns to take money from us is admirable, and every way worthy that great princess. This whole business is adapted exactly to her favourite system of setting the dogs a-fighting and looking on herself. Her whole behaviour appears to me to be so unreasonable that I fear the only campaign of the Russians will be a campaign of couriers.

Very sincerely yours,

WM. ELIOT.

Mr. Craufurd to Lord Auckland.

Brussels, May 13th, 1793.

My Lord,—I had the honour to write to your Lordship on the 11th by the courier of M. de Stahremberg. Since then I have received a very exact detail of the operations of the armies up to that date, and of which, doubtless, your Lordship is already informed. The attack made by the allies on the 10th, is perhaps one of the most important in its consequences of any that has happened during the campaign. Had the French succeeded in establishing themselves in the intrenched batteries they had constructed, it is generally allowed that the Austrians would have inevitably been driven from their posts at Vicogne and Raimes; that M. de Clairfayt would have retired over the Scheldt; Knoblesdorff over the Scarpe; that Condé would have been completely relieved, and the allies, after having wasted a great deal of time, and lost a great number of troops, would have been obliged to adopt another plan of campaign, and with the appearance of having retreated. It is now thought that M. de Clairfayt and Knoblesdorff

* Secretary of Legation at Berlin. † Of Russia.

Hosted by Google

cannot possibly be forced, or Condé relieved, and that it must, of course, fall very shortly. As the present position of the Austrians is undoubtedly to be ascribed to the negotiations with Dumouriez, I think it scarcely admits of a doubt that they have been productive of more ill than good. His reputation and influence were gone, his enemies had the superiority, and his adventures would probably have been terminated by the guillotine at Paris. M. de Clairfayt and the Austrians in general speak with the highest praises of his Royal Highness and the English troops. They ascribe in a great measure the complete success on the 8th to their bravery, and to a very quick and able manœuvre of his Royal Highness to fill an interval between the Austrians and Prussians, and by which the French were endeavouring to penetrate. I propose to leave this on Saturday next, by which time I hope that Condé will have surrendered.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and obedient, humble servant,

QU. CRAUFURD.

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

Hague, May 14th, 1793.

My Lord,—I sent despatches to your Lordship today, by the messenger Major, from Petersburg.

The Comte de Stahremberg is since returned from Brussels. He has received the credentials and instructions for England, and proposes to leave this place so as to arrive at London on Monday or Tuesday next. He carries with him an extreme solicitation to merit the confidence of his Majesty. Moreover, I understand that he is authorised to discuss and to settle with your Lordship such articles as may be thought mutually expedient respecting the operations and objects of the war. In order to save time, he is to refer to M. de Mercy for a decision as to any

Hosted by Google

points of doubt and difficulty which may arise; and M. de Mercy is to remain at Brussels, or in such other town of the Netherlands as circumstances may indicate, with a sort of superintending power over the armies and ministers of his Imperial Majesty on this side of the Rhine. He has even a discretionary permission to agree to an amnesty with France if any turn of affairs should make it expedient; and this is communicated to the Prince de Coburg with as much delicacy as the case will allow. It is feared, however, that the Prince de Coburg is dissatisfied with some parts of the situation; and he has expressed a wish to have the presence and assistance of the Austrian prince Hohenlohe. I am sorry to add, that the Colonel de Mack has desired to retire. His pretext is ill health (and he is certainly far from well), but it is supposed that he is dissatisfied at not having received the rank of Major-General, for which the Prince de Coburg has recommended him, and to which his eminent talents and services seem to have given him some claims.

M. de Stahremberg is instructed to insist to a certain degree on the project for the exchange of Bavaria, but to relinquish it if he finds it decidedly contrary to the wishes of his Majesty and his ministers.

He assures me that the successes of the 8th and 10th are considered as of great and solid importance; and he mentions, in terms of admiration and respect, the aid given to those branches by the Duke of York and by the troops under his Royal Highness's, command. I enclose the bulletin from the head-quarters at Quievrain of the 9th and 10th instants.

There is secret reason to believe that the Emperor intends this summer to visit the Austrian Netherlands. The Archduke Charles went yesterday to Ghent, in order to show himself as Governor-General. Besides the free donations which have been made to his Imperial Majesty, the example, it is said, will be followed by the wealthy public bodies and by individuals. The University of Louvain has given 100,000

Hosted by Google

florins; the Comte de Merode, 40,000, and a promise of 40,000 more; the Duc d'Aremberg, 50,000, &c. I am sorry to learn that M. Crumpipen solicits the appointment to this mission in the place of M. de Stahremberg.

The accounts of the 10th from Paris state that the Royalists in Brittany, Poictou, and Anjou, are increasing in strength; that they have gained many new advantages, and are proceeding into the Touraine towards Tours. It appears to be an object of great importance to give them some aid in the articles of arms, ammunition, and perhaps, even provisions.

The Comte de Plano, his Catholic Majesty's Minister to this republic, died here yesterday, after a lingering and painful illness.

I send a copy of the papers presented two or three days ago by the person who calls himself the Consul of the French Republic. The States-General will not take any notice of the paper; but M. d'Audibert Caille will be ordered by the police to quit these provinces immediately.

I have, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

Hague, May 17th, 1793.

My Lord, — I have the honour to transmit several enclosures.

The copy of a letter from Baron Kinckel* at Oppenheim. His remarks on the general disposition and projects of the *émigrés* are, I believe, well founded. Every *émigré* with whom I have occasion to converse (including the Maréchal de Castries, who arrived here last night), is occupied at this moment in discouraging the supposed intentions of the allied powers to gain possession of the strong places on the French frontiers. At one time we are told that those places are not necessary to the progress of the combined armies; or at best, not worth

* A Dutch admiral.

Hosted by Google

the expense and delay which they may occasion. At another, that it would be right to take them in the name of Louis XVII. But above all, that it would be best to turn our whole attention to support the contre-révolution in Bretagne; and I understand that the Comte d'Artois, who sailed from Revel on the 22nd, is to urge this last doctrine, which, to a certain extent, may be good. But surely it is to be wished that the war may be so directed as to effect a great and solid dismemberment of France, or at least a permanent impression, so far as the chain of fortresses is concerned.

A paper entitled "Minute d'une Dépêche de L. H. P.* aux Cours de Londres, de Vienne, et de Berlin." I understand that the Grand Pensionary finds it necessary, in order to satisfy both his own feelings and the wishes of the States-General, to intimate in this manner their impatience to see some system of union and concert established among the powers engaged in the war. I am not aware that the project, as it now stands corrected, is open to any material objections; and I understand that it will be brought forward as a secret resolution of their High Mightinesses next week.

I omitted to mention in my last despatch that the Austrian troops which had marched into Bavaria, and had occasioned considerable alarm, are ordered to proceed towards the Rhine.

I have, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Friday, May 18th, 1793.

My dear Lord, — I have very sincere pleasure in the occasion of my writing this letter, which is for the purpose of telling you that his Majesty has been pleased to approve of your receiving the rank of a British Peer. This circumstance will, I hope, be felt,

* Leurs Hautes Puissances.

Hosted by Google

as it is intended, as a decisive mark of the just sense entertained of very distinguished services. I should have had the satisfaction of sending you this intelligence some posts sooner, but that the unusual pressure of business of different sorts has prevented for above a fortnight till last Wednesday my attending the King. I have long wished to take the first opportunity which I thought a convenient one to promote a wish which I knew you to have at heart, but I will fairly own that on the present occasion I feel that there was no room for any consideration for personal friendship; as the measure is one which on public grounds I should have felt it incumbent on me to recommend, I rejoice that it comes in this shape, and at a time which must make it peculiarly agreeable to you. On all the various interesting objects abroad and at home, I have not time to say anything at present. Compared with last November, these are indeed prosperous days, but they are still in many views full of delicate and doubtful speculations. If nothing very immediately pressing should arise soon to detain you, we shall probably have an opportunity of talking over all these points.

In the mean time, believe me, my dear Lord, very sincerely yours,

W. PITT.

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

Hague, May 18th, 1793.

I sent a despatch this morning by the regular packet-boat. This will be carried by the Comte de Stahremberg, who will sail to-morrow.

M. de Latitcheff has received a letter from M. de Worowzow to say that the Comte d'Artois has directed the two Princes*, his sons, to proceed from Ham through Brussels to Ostend, where they will embark for England.

The Maréchal de Castries called on me to-day, and

* The Duc d'Angoulême and the Duc de Berri

Hosted by Google

made a long visit, the professed purport of which was to ask whether I thought it probable that the French monarchy, "or, in other words, the regency in the person of Monsieur," would be recognised by the King. I told him that I had no authority whatever to speak to him on the subject officially, and that in my private capacity I had not considered the question sufficiently to talk about it: — that the mere mention of it brought into view several other questions which I was not prepared to solve; such as, what end could be attained? — what object could be facilitated in acknowledging the regency? — would not the inconveniences to be risked by such a measure counterbalance the advantages to result from it? — would it not be an indecorum, and even an apparent perfidy, to take possession of towns and strong places in the name of the young king, and afterwards to retain them as an indemnity for the expenses of the war, or on any other ground of policy? M. de Castries communicated to me a long manuscript, for the purpose of showing that all his reasonings proceed on a supposition neither just nor generous, that the combined armies should be satisfied with restoring order and the ancient monarchy to France, and should not seek any indemnity for themselves. I enclose a hasty extract which I have taken of this paper.

I omitted to remark this morning that in the proceedings of the 11th, the National Convention decreed, "Que les bâtimens de guerre et corsaires françois peuvent arrêter et amener dans les ports de la République Française les navires neutres qui se trouvent chargés en tout ou en partie, soit de comestibles appartenant à des puissances neutres, chargés pour les ennemis, soit de marchandises appartenant aux ennemis."

This decree should lessen the complaints of the neutral powers in the several cases where we may find it expedient to pursue a reciprocity of system.

I have reason to believe that the Comte de Stahremberg has instructions and also full powers to conclude a convention with your Lordship; but that

Hosted by Google

from many obvious considerations he would not venture to sign anything without previously consulting the Comte de Mercy.

Accounts are received that the Comte d'Artois passed through the Sound on the 8th or 9th, in the Russian frigate, and proceeded towards the port of Hull.

I have, &c.,

AUCKLAND.

Mr. Craufurd to Lord Auckland.

Brussels, May 23rd, 1793.

My Lord,—I had the honour to write to your Lordship on the 20th, and to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 15th and 17th. I propose to set out for Ostend on Monday, and now take leave of your Lordship, in hopes of soon having an opportunity of paying my respects to you in England. Though I long to see my friends there, I own that I quit with regret the neighbourhood of the great scene of action. The more I reflect on the cause of it, the more I feel myself interested in the events, and find reason for astonishment and anxiety. The present crisis is certainly the most extraordinary in its nature, and may be the most important in its consequences, of any that is to be found on the page of history. It may decide the fate of the religion and government of most of the nations of Europe, or rather it may decide whether religion and government are to exist, or Europe be plunged again into barbarism. Hitherto the basis of human polity was religion, the Supreme Being was everywhere adored, and the great maxims of morality respected; but when the order of civil society had attained a degree of perfection unknown in former ages, we see endeavours almost everywhere put in practice to destroy it,—atheism rising against religion, anarchy against government, vagabonds against the industrious, men who have nothing to lose against those who enjoy what they received from their ancestors, or acquired by their labours,—and this conflict

Hosted by Google

brought at last into the field to be decided by the sword. On one hand we see the chief powers of Europe taking arms in the defence of religion and lawful authority, and on the other a multitude of disorganised barbarians endeavouring to undo them. Such, my Lord, with some political shades that might be added, is a pretty faithful picture of what the French Revolution has produced hitherto.

If exertions are made in proportion to the importance of the object that is at stake, and to the difficulties that should reasonably be expected, there can be little doubt that the issue will be favourable and the struggle soon over; but the powers that are now engaged in the war can neither afford to waste time, or repeat such mistakes as were committed in 1792. It is impossible for them to recede, nor can we look to the probable consequences of failure, even of considerable delay, without being most seriously alarmed.

The war with America may on this occasion serve as some example, and induce the different powers to come forth with that force at once, that they may be gradually led on to employ afterwards, when opportunities may be lost, and when circumstances may have arisen to render the operations more difficult. How often, my Lord, have we not seen a system of policy entirely deranged by the death of a single man or the change of a minister.

I enclose your Lordship a short account of M. de Gaston. I hope the party that has been formed under him* will be speedily assisted; should it meet with any serious check, it may yet vanish, but if properly supported, its progress may be very rapid, and its example followed in most of the provinces in the kingdom. It is the only party that has appeared since the revolution that is worthy of the name; for all the other attempts that have been made only occasioned the ruin of a number of unhappy individuals, and rendered the evil worse. An idea is entertained

* In Brittany.

Hosted by Google

that the Comte d'Artois wishes to put himself at the head of this party. Were he to go alone, with M. de Gaston to command under him, his presence and example might, perhaps, have a good effect; but if he goes accompanied by some of those emigrants who at Coblentz renewed all the follies of Versailles, it is more than probable that they will derange the whole enterprise. Unacquainted as I am with the motive for his journey to England, on the general face of the thing, I confess I am very sorry for it. It is almost impossible to make a Frenchman who has been brought up at Versailles understand that our government is entirely different from that of Petersburg or Vienna. The principles on which the war was undertaken, as declared by his Majesty's ministers at home, and your Lordship abroad, are the only grounds on which it can be openly and fairly defended. It is a war to repel aggressions, to defend our constitution, to preserve our commercial interests, to restore order and tranquillity, and establish the balance of Europe on a clear and solid basis. Though, in proceeding on those grounds, the monarchy of France may be, and I imagine your Lordship will think must be, restored, still the restoration of the monarchy can never be held out as a motive for the war, and I shall see with pain whatever may tend to encourage the idea of its being a war undertaken for the interests of princes.

I have expressed my sentiments on some subjects, perhaps, with too much freedom, but I was naturally led on by my feelings, in reflecting on the past and looking to what may come; besides, I always write to your Lordship with ease and confidence, from the persuasion I have that I shall find you disposed to excuse my errors.

The opinion that seems to be propagated with so much industry, that the war is the cause of most of the late bankruptcies, and the ruin of our manufactures, appears to me to be a very fallacious one. The time that has yet elapsed certainly could not have produced events so numerous, and of such magnitude.

Hosted by Google

Your Lordship will know infinitely better than I can possibly inform you, that our exports to France must have greatly diminished long before the war began, or must have been made at such risk and disadvantage as no fair and honest trader could submit to. If the returns were made by bills of exchange, the loss was about 70 per cent.; if in the productions of France, by the increase of price, it was nearly in the same proportion. It will be said that the loss fell on the consumer, not on the seller, but this is not entirely true, or at least the consumption must have been reduced to less than a third of what it was formerly. The principal consumers were either ruined or had left the country, and most of those who remained would certainly cease to purchase when the goods rose above what they could afford to give for them. Their own manufactures are ruined for want of purchasers; assignats lose with foreign countries, and respectively to gold and silver, above 120 per cent. at present, but the rents are paid in assignats, and a man who was formerly paid at the Hôtel de Ville 100,000 livres in Louis d'ors, is now paid but 100,000 livres in paper.

There are accounts directly from the Temple as late as the 8th of this month. They come from La Case, an eminent surgeon, who formerly attended the royal family. He was permitted to see them on account of the indisposition of the Princess Royal, whom he found in a very dangerous way; her brother was then well, but it is said has lately had a fever. The Queen* did not appear to him to be so much altered as he expected to have found her, and as had been reported; he says, "her countenance announced a profound melancholy, but her conversation and behaviour that composure and magnanimity she has constantly shown since the beginning of her misfortunes." There was a person in the room with an ordinary printed linen gown and a nightcap, whom he had paid but little

* An interesting account of the Queen's heroic behaviour in the "flight to Varennes" will be found in the Appendix.

Hosted by Google

attention to till he heard the Queen call her her sister, —it was Madame Elizabeth. Though he had formerly been in the habit of frequently seeing her, so entirely was she changed, that he says he could not possibly have known her but for her being named.

M. de Mercy is still with the army. They write me from thence that Mack's health is really so much impaired that he cannot possibly do his duty any longer. The Prince of Hohenlohe has accepted of the place of Quartermaster-General, which is considered as a proof of his zeal, and is undoubtedly an act of condescension. The Duke of York's head-quarters was on the 21st at Baineux, near Quievrain. Everything seems to announce an intention of attacking Famars, and investing Valenciennes if the former proves successful. The French, it is said, are very strongly and skilfully entrenched at Famars, and the present moment is considered by military men as one of the most critical that has occurred since the opening of the campaign.

I have the honour to be, with great respect and attachment, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and obedient servant,

QU. CRAUFURD.

*Sir Morton Eden * to Lord Auckland.*

M. de Thugut told me yesterday, with great emotion, that from your language † it was feared that England meant to acquire and keep possession of Dunkirk, and to procure some indemnification for Holland in the bishopric of Liege. This latter project, he said, and in my opinion fairly enough, can never be admitted, and would be as bad as the predatory system in Poland. I was silent, but I confess that the acquisition of Dunkirk appears also impolitic, and might draw us into wars.

* Minister at Vienna.
† Probably in the interview with the Count de Mercy.

Hosted by Google

Mr. Craufurd to Lord Auckland.

Brussels, May 27th, 1793.

My Lord,—Though I am just on the point of setting out for England, I sit down for a few minutes principally to congratulate your Lordship on the late very brilliant successes of the combined armies. The plan of attack*, which is greatly admired, was made by Colonel Mack, who was shot through the fleshy part of the arm; his wound is of little consequence, but his health is so exceedingly impaired as to render it impossible for him to remain any longer with the army. His intention was to have retired to some watering place, but M. de Mercy has prevailed on him first to try the effects of quiet and medicine at Brussels, from whence, when the state of his health will admit of it, he may occasionally visit the army. He (M. de Mercy) says that no cause of ill-humour exists now, and that the Emperor, being fully sensible of his merit and services†, will most certainly reward him. M. de Mercy, who returned from the army on the 24th, and was eye-witness of the attack on Famars, speaks in the highest terms of praise of the Duke of York and the troops under his command. He says that no opportunity will be neglected of doing what may be agreeable to his Royal Highness; that the principal attack on Famars was given to him as a mark of distinction, and that the command of the army of observation during the siege of Valenciennes will be offered to him. He makes no doubt that *the plan of operations* will be executed with success, and in the mean time he thinks it would be of some consequence if the ports on the coast of Flanders were to be blocked, so as to prevent them from having any communication with each other or receiving supplies from abroad. He tells me that an additional body of 25,000 men are ordered for this country, and 5000

* On the camp of Famars.

† Mack had been originally a private soldier, and had risen to his present position entirely by his own abilities.

Hosted by Google

for the army under M. de Wurmser; amongst the former is a great part of the famous corps of Bohemian grenadiers. The loss on the side of the allies in taking Famars was very trifling, but the enemy having defended themselves with greater obstinacy on the heights of Dansin, M. de Clairfayt had eight officers killed, twenty wounded, and between 300 and 400 men killed and wounded.

The province of Brabant alone has furnished the army lately with above 5000 workmen, but recruiting for the Walloon regiments goes on but very slowly; the people are very industrious, and find sufficient employment in their agriculture and manufactures; formerly half of the Walloon regiments was composed of foreigners, chiefly French. I observe that there is much dissatisfaction with respect to the operations towards Mayence, not even free of suspicion that some who are principally employed there purposely allow things to *traîner en longueur*. That such suspicions are ill founded I am very ready to believe, at the same time the instances of neglect and misconduct that are mentioned, if strictly true, are undoubtedly very surprising. M. de Wurmser wishes to be in a situation to act entirely by himself, and to have as little to do with the D. of B.* as may be possible. As far as I can learn, he completely disapproves of his conduct, nor is he very desirous that his sentiments should be concealed.

If M. de Jarry comes to the Hague, he may probably be able to give your Lordship some useful information with regard to Dunkirk and Lille.

Mr. George Henry Rose to Lord Auckland.

Hague, May 31st, 1793.

My Lord,—It was natural that you should have expected yesterday that I should attempt some acknowledgment to Lady Auckland and yourself of

* The Duke of Brunswick.

Hosted by Google

the obligations under which you have both laid me; I hope that, considering the nature and extent of them, you will think it equally natural that I could find neither words nor utterance to make a tribute of thanks proportioned to the sense I entertain of what I owe to you. Notwithstanding that the impression of parting subsists no longer, I feel myself nearly in the same situation, and can no longer find words to represent my thoughts and sentiments than I can expect to have it in my power to give them effect in proving my gratitude to you adequately: as an additional mark of your friendship, my Lord, let me request that you will judge of this gratitude not by my expressions of it, but by the use I make of any opportunity of proving it that may offer itself.

Almost personally unknown to you, and with but slight claims to your attention, I have for this year past been received in your house as one of your own; have had the fullest confidence reposed in me even in moments and affairs of the greatest pressure and importance; have had every means afforded me of clearing and strengthening my mind, and forming it to business; enjoyed every benefit that your situation and personal weight could procure me; seen you catching eagerly at every opportunity of bringing me forward in the most advantageous and flattering light; and have had an indelible example of what the mind of one man can effect under circumstances of apparently desperate and irretrievable public and almost universal calamity, by its own vigour, activity, and resources. Equal to all these advantages I rate those I derived from your society and that of her Ladyship, and the constant intercourse with the most amiable and best educated family I ever had the good fortune to meet with. The easy and unaffected friendship and kindness which accompanied all the obligations which you both laid me under, could, I own, alone have induced me to incur the debt I am under; to repay it will be out of my power, but I shall consider myself as most fortunate should the

Hosted by Google

occasion ever present itself to me of proving to any of your children, or connections, what I feel that I owe to them for your sakes. My father will express, more strongly than I am able, those thanks which the earnestness of my thoughts and feelings have occasioned me to offer so imperfectly. My next letters will, I hope, prove more interesting to you. Believe, my Lord, that I am ever, with the liveliest gratitude, and most respectful attachment,

Your devoted, humble servant,

GEORGE H. ROSE.

Hosted by Google

CHAP. XXVII.

Lord Auckland's Arrival in England.—Enthusiasm of an Editor.—Lord Stanhope's Motion.—Cheerfulness of Prince Kaunitz.—Lord Auckland suggests the taking Possession of Calais and Dunkirk, if the Austrians acquire the Somme as a Boundary.—The Dutch Indemnity not yet settled.—Letter of Lord Grenville. — Memoir on the "Line of the Somme."—Sir Morton Eden highly approves of the new Frontier.

*Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.**

Beckenham, June 4th, 1793.

My dear Lord Henry,—We had a passage of nineteen hours, in fine weather, with the "Niger" cutter on one side of us, and the "Diligent" cutter on the other; but I never was sicker in the whole course of my sea voyages. We all suffered much in that way — even Lady Auckland. I suspect that there was an emulation among the sea captains as to which could sail the best, and they crowded sail accordingly without adverting to our sufferings. We dined on Saturday off Goche, and had the good fortune to avoid Mr. Hutchinson. We visited the "Niger" frigate, and received salutes from her and from all the Dutch vessels till we were almost deafened, more especially as we returned them as well as we could, both from the yacht and from Heame's vessel. We breakfasted on the Sunday morning at Harwich, and in the evening proceeded to Colchester; and yesterday evening we arrived here in time to take a walk before sunset round the gardens and grounds. It was a beautiful evening, and I need not tell you that we were very happy. Louisa much amused us. On getting out

* Lord Auckland now retired from the diplomatic service, having succeeded in every negotiation he conducted since 1786.

Hosted by Google

of the carriage, unprompted by anybody, she attacked my steward with all the Dutch words and phrases that she could recollect, and exactly as if she could speak no other language; and as soon as she got out, she set off scampering over the lawn, beating about her arms as if they had been wings.

To-day I am busy in settling our *domesticité* as far as I can. To-morrow Lady Auckland and I go to town. We shall pass the day at Lambeth, where I hope to see the Chancellor and Mr. Rose in the evening; and on Thursday morning I am desired to breakfast at Mr. Pitt's, and to go at eleven to Lord Grenville, and at twelve to the office, and on Friday to Court; after which we shall return to this place till Monday; but I will previously, if possible, write a few lines to you.

Remember us kindly to the Giffords, Ponsonbys, &c.

Yours very affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

Pray send the letter, gazette, and the Monday's paper, with our compliments, to the Ponsonbys.

P.S.— I took a peep at your despatch, No. 1, and thought it a very good one.

Mr. Woodfall to Lord Auckland.

Clapham, June 12th, 1793.

My Lord, — In consequence of a severe fever in December last, I have been disabled from attending Parliament this session; but having casually called at Alice's Coffee House in my way home yesterday evening, and learnt there that your Lordship was attacked by Earl Stanhope as soon as you had taken your seat in the House, and notice given by him for a motion personal to yourself this day, I cannot, while I have existence, forget old friendships so far as to be indifferent to any matter so nearly concerning a person for whom I have so sincere an esteem as I entertain for your Lordship. I beg leave, therefore, to apprise your

Hosted by Google

Lordship that I mean to attend the House of Lords this day, and will pay every possible attention to what passes on the subject, which occasions my now troubling you.

I have written the above in case I should not have the good fortune to find you at Lambeth. Should you be in the palace, I shall wait the return of the servant, in hopes of the pleasure of seeing an old friend whose health I have given as my premier toast in all companies during his absence from England.

I am, with great respect, your Lordship's most obedient servant,

W. WOODFALL.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Lambeth Palace, June 18th, 1793.

My dear Lord Henry,—I live in a fever of society, which will begin now to lessen, but which hitherto has been incessant. I went on Friday, as you may recollect, to Beckenham, in order to have a little quiet. In the result, we had with us, from that day till Monday morning, Mr. Q. Craufurd, Lord Sheffield, Mr. Gibbon (the historian), Mr. Bruce, of the India Board, Mr. Burges (for one day), besides accidental visitors; in short, we did nothing but walk, eat, and talk till we got into the coach to come to Lord Stanhope's attack. It lasted till ten last night, and we are obliged to hurry back this morning to Beckenham to a new batch of visitors, who are coming for the day, and whom we have no means of deferring. To-morrow I return to this place to attend the levée and the prorogation, and the drawing room on Thursday; and on the day following we have to bid adieu for some time to the bustles of London.

You will have seen, or at least will see, in the newspapers, that we thought it right to meet Lord Stanhope's motion not by a mere negation, as had been done in the House of Commons, but by a vote of approbation. I thought this expedient, and found

Hosted by Google

Lord Grenville and the Chancellor of the same opinion, and we carried it very successfully. The Opposition did not venture to divide even on the previous question; if they had risked a division, the House was very full, and I am sure that we should have had a majority of at least four to one.

Yours ever affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.*

Vienna, June 22nd, 1793.

My dear Brother,—I write merely to congratulate you on your safe arrival in England, and to offer you a renewal of my wishes that, should your very superior talents be allowed to remain unemployed, you may long enjoy in your retreat your health, and that happiness which the remembrance of a most usefully spent life must give. As to public matters, by this conveyance I shall say nothing, except that I could wish you the first time that you are at the office to see my last despatch, No. 33, of the 19th inst.

The Empress†, I understand, is now determined to send a fleet to sea. It is coals to Newcastle. I more and more admire her *benignum numen;*—the new appointment of Hugh's old tutor looks like another sacrifice, which can only invite new kicks.

Prince Kaunitz is very anxious to have a list of our best novels, plays, voyages, and travels, as may be translated into French, and has earnestly begged me to procure such a list for him from London. I told him that he should get it from Paris, but as he persists in having it from London, I would be much obliged to you to procure it, and to send it to me. He is vastly well, and very kind to us, and though near eighty-three, thinks so little of the other world‡ that

* Minister at Vienna. † Of Russia.

‡ Prince Kaunitz had a horror of the other world, and would never allow the fact of any one having gone there to be mentioned in his presence. He died in 1794.

Hosted by Google

with a small degree of encouragement he would learn English to have the pleasure of reading these books in their original language.

Count Stahremberg * is much pleased with his reception, which he attributes to the favourable representation that was made of him. A second courier is daily and anxiously expected from him. Burgess's vision must have been a mere vision. Adieu.

Ever your obedient and affectionate brother,

M. E.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Dropmore, July 1st, 1793.

My dear Lord, — I return you Mr. Craufurd's list and the paper from M. Jarry, which I should be glad to see again when he has finished it. I think the mode you propose for employing M. Jarry is the best, and I should feel no difficulty in going to the extent you propose, or beyond it. We get the newspapers now pretty regularly from Ostend, but that communication is always liable to be interrupted from day to day, and we might in the way you propose get more than mere newspapers. Will you have the goodness to speak to Mr. Craufurd about it, and to put it in train.

To what extent does Stahremberg know of your intercourse with Jarry? † I have reason to believe he means to propose to me the employing him to go to France.

Ever, my dear Lord, most truly yours,

GRENVILLE.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Beckenham, July 9th, 1793.

My dear Lord Henry, — Mr. Liston dined with me yesterday. I had much conversation with him on the

* Appointed Austrian Minister in London.

† Jarry was an *émigré* officer of great talents. On the establishment of Marlow College, he was appointed Military Instructor there. He died in 1807.

Hosted by Google

question of your establishment at Sweden. He has talked fully with Garlike, who will report the whole to you. He has written to you, and he will write again.

The Stahrembergs left us yesterday. We have had with them the Paynes, Mr. Pitt, Quintin Craufurd, young Jenkinson, for a short visit, &c., and yesterday the Lambeth family, and Gibbon, and Goddard, and Charles North, and Mr. Liston, and Mr. Garlike came. We are in an incessant fever of society; but I hope that it is drawing to an end, and that we shall soon have a few days' quiet.

The object of Lord Beauchamp's mission is to promote a treaty tripartite between England, Prussia, and Austria, on the duration and conduct of the war; and, if it should be effectuated, to invite the republic to accede to it.

Our stocks rise; I do not precisely know why.

Mr. Goddard and Charles North being charged with this letter, and being impatient to depart, I must conclude.

My dear Lord Henry, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Vienna, July 10th, 1793.

My dear Brother,— Thanks to you, I have attained this post. All that I now wish for is the tranquillity of Europe; and if our recent accounts from the interior parts of France be true, the affairs of that country must speedily come to a crisis. In Poland there is a new episode, which, from the weakness and versatility of the nation, cannot be brought to anything favourable for them, but the tyranny of the Russian Ambassador *, and his new insult of fallen majesty †, must at the present awful period particularly shock all men's minds, and furnish ample matter for all the Jacobins in Europe, and more especially for those of

* M. Sievers.

† Stanislaus Augustus.

Hosted by Google

Great Britain. We must wait to see the further instructions that will arrive from Petersburg; till then, the Prussian Cabinet will scarce take any measure. I am anxious for the result of Lord Beauchamp's journey *, though I do not expect any good from it. By the bye, the bald knight's successor writes to me that he feels deeply mortified at the perfect silence observed towards him,—on this and every other point, it certainly lowers him,—and so far he is right.

Your obliged and affectionate brother,

MORTON EDEN.

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

Beckenham, July 14th, 1793.

My dear Lord,—It appears to me that the enclosed paper † merits the attentive perusal of those who have an influence in directing the farther objects and exertions of the campaign. It is of infinite importance to combine to the best possible advantage, and without any avoidable delay, the several considerations of the impression to be made on France, and particularly on the Parisians,—the acquisition of fortified towns, according to the best and most judicious selection, and the security of winter quarters within French Flanders, if unhappily the campaign should close before the business can be finished. It may be hoped that the surrender of Valenciennes will take place in a few days. This is, therefore, the proper moment for discussing the new line of measures to be adopted. So far as I can form any opinion on a military subject, I believe that many of the suggestions in the enclosed paper are excellent, and coincide too with the Austrian idea of acquiring the Somme for their new boundary. It is a question worth consideration, whether, in supposing the feasibility of such a conquest, we ought not to insist on holding Dunkirk (and, perhaps, also Calais). I am aware of the Austrian jealousy on that subject;

* To Berlin.

† A memoir.

Hosted by Google

but it is unreasonable; and M. de Stahremberg can inform your Lordship that when I discussed it in his presence, with M. de Mercy, the latter acceded to our holding Dunkirk (*en dépôt*) if we wished it.

Be this as it may, I again revert to the expediency of the subject having a full and early discussion by those who are competent to decide upon it; much mischief may arise if it is left to the consideration of the Prince de Coburg's head-quarters.

Your Lordship will observe that the enclosed paper is not proper to be transmitted (*in extenso*) to the Continent; indeed, I was desired to obtain the return of it to my own possession, when such extracts shall have been made as may be thought material.

I am, my dear Lord, respectfully and most sincerely yours,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Beckenham, July 15th, 1793.

My dear Lord Henry, — We have not seen a cloud in this country during ten days, and if the sun were a few degrees more powerful I should fancy myself in Spain. There is no verdure remaining. The strawberry beds and rosebushes are dying at the moment of producing fruit and flowers.

Every man in his way! I send you the preceding paragraph in payment and full discharge for your letter of the 12th with its interesting enclosures.

The Polish *vivacité* is a tragi-comical interest. It will do no good to the Poles; it may perhaps induce the King of Prussia to act with more energy against the French, but it will have no other effect. The Empress of Russia holds the Poles and all other nations in equal contempt.

The French business seems to go on well. I am sorry that you find my old and worthy friend, the Pensionnaire *, *récalcitrant*. I should not think him very

* M. Van der Spiegel.

Hosted by Google

wrong if he were shy of specific engagements except on a preliminary condition, duly detailed and adjusted, that the indemnity of the republic should be guaranteed. Hitherto that indemnity has never been brought forward. I think the Dutch ministers wrong in not stating it, and loudly too; and I should think the English ministers right in supporting it. In the mean time, according to present appearances, Austria may possibly obtain the whole most important district from the mouth of the Somme to Maubeuge, and the Dutch may obtain nothing.

Many thanks for all your enclosures; I shall peruse them when Mr. Eliot arrives. I see much of official people; some of them generally dine here at least once a week, and sometimes oftener; but I never go from this place, and consequently I have no opportunities of reading the correspondence.

I understand from Lord Grenville that Jacobi* has received instructions and powers to conclude a treaty similar, or on similar principles, with that which Stahremberg is to make here.

I have not heard this fortnight from Brighthelmstone. I do not like what you mention on that subject.

All in high health here except our poor housekeeper. All our friends have sent ponies to the children. I have quite a troop of Liliputian cavalry for the boys, and the girls have a little cantering horse of the Burrels'.

All my Hague horses are arrived safe. We drive out every night in the phaeton, which holds six or seven, and sometimes eight.

I am, my dear Lord Henry, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

* The Prussian Minister in London.

Hosted by Google

Lord Henry Spencer to Lord Auckland.

Hague, July 16th, 1793.

My dear Lord,—Garlike arrived this morning, but brought me neither instructions nor credentials. I learn from Aust that I am to receive them both by the next packet. Hutchinson is going to break, and to show the world that honesty is the best policy.

You have heard the adventure of Lord Newborough's * son. He came over here, proposed in marriage to Lavoine's Dutch servant-maid, was accepted, ordered her clothes, &c., *à l'Anglaise*, and is coming back to marry her in three months. Her sweetheart, an honest coachmaker, is gone to Amsterdam in despair, to embark as a sailor on board a merchant-ship.

I hear nothing of Eliot.

Pray do not forget me in my banishment. I set out the beginning of next week.

I am ever, my dear Lord, most sincerely yours,

H. SPENCER.

What a strange, uncivil note I send you from Hailes!

Lord Henry Spencer to Lord Auckland.

Hague, July 23rd, 1793.

My dear Lord,—I have received my instructions †, which are merely things of form, and the same as have been sent to all foreign ministers for these last hundred years. They are not accompanied with any despatch or private letter by which I can judge what I am to do, or whether I am to do anything at all. This is rather odd, considering that Lord Grenville wrote me word some time ago, that "the situation and *views* of the Court of Sweden, and those of Russia respecting it, seem to become very interesting

* Sir Thomas Wynn, created, in 1776, Baron Newborough.

† Lord Henry was appointed Minister in Sweden; he had displayed great talents when acting as *chargé d'affaires* at the Hague, in Lord Auckland's absence, and was very much disappointed at being sent to a country where there was no business to transact.

Hosted by Google

at the present moment." How and why are they interesting? How far are we to oppose the views of Sweden, or to give in to those of Russia? What language should an English minister hold on these subjects in his first audiences? All this and much more is left to my imagination, and I do not know whether to be flattered or not at such a prodigious extent of confidence.

Lord Henry Spencer to Lord Auckland.

(Extract.)

I must trouble you with a fifth page, to tell you that there is an idea of the Greffier going over to England to talk with Lord Grenville respecting the triple alliance between England, Austria and Holland, and about the indemnity to be expected by the latter. The Pensionary seems right in his general ideas, and I only wish he would urge them with more good humour. The plan in question is as yet extremely uncertain, and also extremely secret.

The account which you will find in the enclosures of Valenciennes having offered to surrender is unfounded.

The Hague is getting duller every day. Bort is going into the country, as are Arasyi, Kalitcheff, Lowenhyelm, Leykam, &c. Madame Bosset is arrived, and mighty plain. I set out on Saturday next. My credentials did not arrive till the day before yesterday.

Believe me ever, my dear Lord, most sincerely and faithfully yours,

H. SPENCER.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Beckenham, July 25th, 1793.

My dear Lord Henry,—I have received your letters to the 19th. If you have not miscalculated, this will find you on the road to the North Pole. I will be a good correspondent during your hyperborean exile.

Hosted by Google

You should have *at least* one daily newspaper. I think that the "Sun" is the best, because it is *soufflé* by the office, and is a daily evening paper, a setting sun; and Mr. Goddard should send you the "Gazette" whenever it contains anything worth having. I do not know whether the postage is high, but I believe that it is. You will find it more necessary to have a good supply of papers, as you will very seldom hear from the office; — at least, in my time it was hardly ever the practice to send a despatch to Sweden except on disagreeable occasions.

I always said that Hutchinson * would break some fine morning. It will be comical to see how he will describe his own bankruptcy, and whether he will state it in verse or in prose.

Lord Newborough cannot be much displeased with his son; it is an improvement in the family annals of matrimony. In a few centuries more they will marry like other people, if they go on thus from generation to generation.

If there is anything worth knowing, I do not know it. I have seen nobody during two days but Lady Auckland and my children, except young Jenkinson, who was sitting under a tree at Addiscombe when we drove by last night; and he said that he had seen nobody but his sister, his father † being in town.

The accounts from the West Indies are not so good as we wished. Gardiner had attempted a landing at Martinique, and without success.

Yours very affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

July 31st, 1793.

My dear Lord,—I perceive I have omitted to thank you for the communication of the last papers from Mr. Craufurd and his friend.‡ The memoir is cer-

* An English merchant in Holland.
† Lord Hawkesbury.
‡ M. Jarry.

Hosted by Google

tainly written with knowledge and judgment. The result of what is doing on the subject will, I trust, be satisfactory and advantageous. Our plans are much facilitated by the surrender of Mentz and by that of Valenciennes, which took place on the 28th, and of which we have received the account this morning.

I have *private* reasons for believing that the Greffier* is to come over here to discuss some points of the situation and future views of the republic. I shall have great satisfaction in this arrangement if it takes place. We are now more advanced, and consequently more able to speak out,—at least according to my idea, which has always been that explanation ought to follow success in this instance, and not to precede it. I remember you once hinted to me some ideas of enterprises to be undertaken by the Dutch in the West Indies. I am apprehensive, from Lord H. Spencer's last letter, that these are abandoned. If so, I see nothing that the Dutch can look to but on the side of Flanders and of Maestricht, where every step of land will be disputed with obstinacy and pertinacity, particularly by Count Mercy, who is charged with the superintendence of all that business. You will oblige me much by letting me have your ideas on this subject, both in that confidence which I flatter myself is established between us, and also such part of them as you think proper, in a form that may be laid before the King's other ministers.

Believe me ever, my dear Lord, most truly and sincerely yours,

GRENVILLE.

The following memoir† of M. Jarry fully explains the advantages of the "Line of the Somme."

* M. Fagel.

† Sir Gilbert Elliot informed Lord Holland that there was a map made of the proposed new frontier, which was probably marked out from Jarry's report. (See *Lord Holland's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 70.)

Hosted by Google

MÉMOIRE sur les places fortes des provinces françoises voisines des possessions de l'Empereur dans les Pays-Bas; à l'effet de distinguer celles de ces places qu'il pourroit être utile d'occuper après la conquête, de celles dont il conviendroit de raser les fortifications.

La guerre qui se fait contre les François, ayant une cause toute particulière, inconnue jusqu'alors, la paix qui y succédera nécessairement doit amener des considérations et des mesures différentes de celles d'une paix faite entre les anciens gouvernemens.

Puisque l'ordre ne peut se rétablir en France que par l'effet des armées étrangères, on ne voit pas comment il pourroit y être maintenu, si les frontières voisines de la France se trouvoient à la paix sans une certaine quantité de forces, tenues à portée et en état de surveiller ce qui s'y passera pendant les premiers temps.

Les guerres des peuples contre les souverains, se déclarant par des insurrections, les mesures défensives ne sont pas les plus propres à y remédier; tantôt il faut aller au devant des troubles qui s'annoncent par leurs symptômes, tantôt il faut accourir pour les combattre, lorsqu'ils se sont déclarés: il faut donc qu'une partie des forces qui occuperont la bordure des possessions de l'Empereur soient tenues en état d'agir, de marcher et de camper, s'il le faut, sur le premier ordre.

En pareilles conjonctures, ce sont les attirails de la guerre qui manquent principalement au peuple; il ne faut donc pas lui donner le temps de se rassembler et de se faire des moyens: les troupes dispersées sont une mauvaise mesure; les affaires de détails peuvent plus facilement tourner à l'avantage du peuple, soit par rapport au nombre, soit parceque tous les commandans particuliers n'ont pas toujours tous les talens, toutes les facultés nécessaires pour agir par eux-mêmes dans des circonstances imprévues. A cet égard rien n'est plus préjudiciable que d'agir faiblement, et de ne pas se montrer d'abord assez supérieur, pour faire grâce purement et simplement, s'il est convenable, ou punir les coupables sans ménagement, accommodement, ni capitulation, s'il le faut.

Un tel plan de conduite demande donc que l'on se ménage une force disponible, que l'on puisse faire sortir de ses quartiers, sans avoir à craindre pour la sûreté des places dans lesquelles les habitans se trouveroient beaucoup plus nombreux que la garnison.

Les places non fortifiées peuvent néanmoins fournir de bons quartiers, et lorsqu'il faut les quitter, on sait qu'il sera aussi facile d'y rentrer que d'en sortir: il n'en est pas de

Hosted by Google

même d'une place forte dont la garnison n'est plus suffisante.

Dans cette supposition il faudroit se borner à occuper le moins de places fortes possible, en choisissant sur celles qui sont les plus faciles à garder, et qui maîtrisent le mieux le cours de rivières et le mouvement des eaux. Dans un pays de plaine la navigation y devient la première considération; les routes d'eau ont partout une double importance, elles facilitent le transport des objets de la guerre, et elles assujettissent le commerce, qui ne sauroit s'écarter de cette route sans de trop grands désavantages.

Il est à remarquer, que les places de première ligne du côté de la France, faisant face aux Pays-Bas Autrichiens, n'auront plus toute la même importance, lorsqu'il s'agira de faire face du côté opposé.

Les grandes villes, quelles que soyent leur force et leur situation, ont toujours un grand défaut, et toujours plus grand en proportion de leur plus grande population. C'est en vain qu'on ordonne à des habitans, à des ouvriers qui n'ont point de fond d'avance, de faire des provisions pour trois ou six mois. Il n'est pas toujours facile de suppléer à l'impuissance des habitans par des magasins correspondants à la population d'une grande ville; et il seroit peut-être encore plus difficile d'en faire sortir tous les individus hors d'état de faire des provisions suffisantes; un tel acte de rigueur pourroit amener des inconvéniens de nature à compromettre le salut de la place, ou la tranquillité du pays. Il faut une armée pour maîtriser les grandes places pendant la durée d'un siége, indépendamment des munitions et provisions que ces mesures exigent.

Si l'on ajoute à ces considérations ce que coûte l'entretien d'une vaste enceinte, on fera peu d'attention aux représentations des ingénieurs, qui voudroient que toutes les places fussent fortifiées; qui voudroient encore ajouter à leurs fortications, et qui prouvent toutes ces nécessités par l'utilité de ces places, pour arrêter l'ennemi après de grands revers, sans faire attention que ce sont les dépenses qu'entraînent ces mêmes places et leurs garnisons qui amènent ces grands revers, en ôtant aux armées les forces dont elles auroient eu besoin pour vaincre, et ne leur offrant en dédommagement qu'un asile souvent dangereux après avoir été battues; d'autant qu'en se réfugiant sous une place c'est aussi un moyen de se faire bloquer par l'ennemi, et à moins d'y avoir des magasins immenses, de se voir forcé à capituler faute de subsistance.

Si l'on dit que les armées ne s'y retirent pas qu'elles y laissent seulement de grosses garnisons pour arrêter l'ennemi:

Hosted by Google

il arrive alors, qu'une armée affoiblie par les suites d'une grande défaite se trouve réduite à rien après avoir fourni une si grosse garnison, et si l'ennemi se décide à faire le siége, l'armée ainsi affoiblie de toutes les manières, se trouvera absolument dans l'impuissance de rien entreprendre pour délivrer la place, qui finira par se rendre avec sa grosse garnison.

M. de Boufflers, avec une garnison de vingt mille hommes, rendit la ville de Lille au bout d'un mois; sa plus longue défense fut dans la citadelle. La belle défense de Landau par M. de Laubanie avec une garnison de 9000 hommes n'arrêta l'ennemi que six semaines. On ne peut citer que bien peu de forteresses depuis un siècle, qui aient soutenu six semaines de tranchée ouverte. Les places les mieux fortifiées ne tiennent pas plus que celles qui le sont médiocrement; les ouvrages ne sont jamais pris les uns après les autres; c'est rarement par la brêche que les ennemis y entrent. Quand la résistance a été prolongée jusqu'à la prise du chemin couvert, la garnison est ordinairement si réduite, si fatiguée, que l'on se détermine à capituler afin d'obtenir des conditions honorables; si bien que tous ces beaux ouvrages appliqués les uns devant les autres, ne servent qu'à augmenter la dépense et le service de la garnison; on les rend à l'ennemi tels qu'ils ont été construits.

La véritable défense des places consiste dans les talens et la valeur du commandant pour retarder et contrarier les approches; dans la bonne volonté de la garnison, bien pourvue, bien approvisionnée des vivres et munitions nécessaires, secondant courageusement les dispositions de son commandant: et ce n'est que dans le genre des petites, ou plutôt des moyennes places, que l'on peut compter sur ces avantages réunis.

On ne peut comparer en aucune manière la défense des places, et l'utilité des fortifications, par ce qui s'est fait avant l'époque où l'on a employé dans les siéges l'immense quantité d'artillerie qu'on y emploie aujourd'hui, et particulièrement le grand usage qu'on y fait des bombes et des obusiers, qui ne laissent ni repos ni sûreté sur aucune partie des défenses. *Les fortifications sont restées à peu près les mêmes*, et *les moyens de l'attaque ont entièrement changé.* La même confiance ne peut plus être accordée à la protection de l'art fortificateur; il faut une nouvelle méthode, dont les avantages soient plus directement supérieurs aux moyens de l'attaque; ou bien il ne faut compter pour la défense des empires que sur la force des armées, mais plus particulièrement sur leur instruction et leur discipline. Ce ne sont que les troupes mal disciplinées

Hosted by Google

ou mal commandées qui perdent beaucoup de terrain après un revers ; quand l'attaque et la résistance ont été balancées, le vainqueur, presque aussi maltraîté que le vaincu, a également besoin de lécher ses plaies : l'homme de guerre trouve toujours des fortifications ambulantes dans les mouvemens combinés avec l'étude et la nature du terrain.

C'est d'après ces idées que l'on va essayer d'indiquer les choix à faire, parmi les places françoises frontières des Pays-Bas, qu'il sera utile d'occuper, et celles qu'il conviendra de démolir ; mais avant de rien établir à cet égard, il nous reste encore une distinction à faire.

Lorsqu'il s'agit de former de nouvelles frontières, il n'y a que deux manières : il faut les prendre dans la nature, ou il faut les composer d'un cordon de places fortifiées près à près.

Celles de la première sorte ne peuvent être formées que d'une chaîne de montagnes ou cours de rivières, qui traversent ou couvrent le front que l'on veut défendre ; les grandes forêts, les lacs profonds, servent également à établir les lignes de défense et les démarcations de cette première espèce. Là ou la nature a placé ces obstacles, il faut nécessairement s'y arrêter ; on ne peut rester en deça n'y aller au-delà. Il suffit alors de fortifier et garder les passages principaux que ces grandes barrières laissent de distance en distance, ce qui n'exige pas de grands moyens.

Dans le second cas, où les places fortes composent seules la ligne de défense, pour être de quelque effet, elles ne peuvent être plus éloignées les unes des autres que de quatre, cinq, ou six lieues au plus, afin qu'une armée ne puisse passer et camper entre deux sans désavantage, et la forcer ainsi à faire un siége à droite ou à gauche ; ce qui donne le tems de venir au soutien de la frontière.

Mais le vice d'une telle disposition ne consiste pas seulement dans la dépense de construction et d'entretien de tant de places, elle emporte encore la nécessité d'autant de garnisons, de façon qu'il faut avoir sur pied deux armées au lieu d'une, l'une dispersée dans les places, et une autre pour venir les dégager lorsqu'elles seront assiégées.

C'est aux puissances à se décider sur ce qu'elles auront à faire à cet égard ; quant à nous, ne pouvant entrer dans des considérations politiques de ce genre, nous nous bornerons à examiner quelle seroit la ligne de défense que la nature auroit tracée entre les possessions de l'Empereur et la France depuis Luxembourg jusqu'à la mer, en enveloppant les Pays-Bas d'une nouvelle frontière.

On croit devoir comprendre dans les Pays-Bas le Duché

Hosted by Google

de Luxembourg, appartenant au même maître, pour ne former qu'un seul front, ou cordon de frontières depuis Luxembourg à gauche, jusqu'à l'embouchure de la Somme dans la Manche, en gardant la Meuse devant soi jusqu'à Charleville, et de là en traversant la Thierache, par Rocroy, Moncornet, et Marle, sur la Feré; retournant par Ham à droite pour gagner les sources de la Somme.

Le long de la Somme * viennent à la suite Peronne, Bray, Corbie, Amiens, Abbeville, Le Crotoy, et St. Valery, où se termineroit à la mer la droite de cette démarcation, formée par une partie du cours de la Meuse, les bois de la Thierache et des Ardennes, et le cours entier de la Somme, dont les eaux se répandent dans des grandes étendues de marais qui en défendent le passage.

Quoique nous ayons fait observer les inconvéniens résultant du grand nombre des places, et surtout des trop grandes places, néanmoins il faut aussi remarquer, qu'il est nécessaire d'en avoir de distance en distance, propres à établir les magasins pour les besoins d'une armée avec les sûretés nécessaires. Les trop petites places ne conviennent point aux grands dépôts de munitions et de subsistance. Il ne s'agit pas d'un siége, mais d'un bombardement de deux fois vingt-quatre heures qui suffiroit pour tout détruire; à moins que l'on n'y eût pratiqué des magasins voûtés à l'épreuve de la bombe, mais ceci seroit également à faire, et dans un commencement de possession il y a tant à faire, qu'il ne faut songer à édifier que le moins possible.

En commençant par la gauche, on observera que Longwy et Montmedy, voisins de Luxembourg, ne paroissent pas être d'une grande utilité, cependant il y a quelques considérations à apporter à cet égard.

En se réservant la faculté d'agir avec une armée, ce ne peut être que d'un côté; la même armée ne peut défendre plusieurs points très-éloignés à la fois par lui-même, le pays de Luxembourg, ainsi que les bords de la Meuse, sont plus particulièrement disposés pour la défensive que le Cambrésis et la Picardie, qui sont des pays ouverts, très-peuplés, où les subsistances abondent. Là il faut marcher, combattre et vaincre, ce qui est bien plus décisif que la guerre de poste, pour

* "We invite our readers to look at the map of France, and see what the project of the line of the *Somme by Abbeville, Amiens, Peronne*, would include, and then say whether they can *ex facie* believe that at the commencement, or at any period of the war, the most insane ambition or blindness could have contemplated any such dismemberment of France." —*Quarterly Review* for 1852, p. 240.

Hosted by Google

laquelle les bords de la Meuse et le pays de Luxembourg sont infiniment plus propres.

Il y a aussi une attention particulière à l'égard de Longwy; cette petite place couvre Arlon, et si l'ennemi venoit y placer sa droite, la gauche sur les hauteurs et le bois du lieu nommé Fontaine, la petite rivière devant lui, dans cette position il masque tous les mouvemens partant de Luxembourg, et il peut par des détachemens traverser le pays jusqu'à Namur.

D'ailleurs les deux places de Longwy et Montmedy peuvent être suffisamment garnies avec 1200 hommes. C'est moins de la force des garnisons dont il s'agit pour ces sortes de positions, et de quelques hommes de plus ou de moins, que d'un commandant capable et attaché à ses devoirs. Ces postes, en tems de guerre, ne doivent point être donnés au hasard; il vaudroit mieux démolir ces deux places que de les confier à des gens qui manqueroient de courage ou de volonté pour les défendre. La première science à cet égard est l'opiniâtreté qui prêche d'exemple sur le rempart; rien de plus difficile à forcer qu'un homme qui ne veut pas se rendre. Dans la défense des places, on ne tient peut-être pas assez de compte du choix de commandans.

Il seroit à souhaiter que les fortifications de Montmedy fussent à Stenay; elles y seroient beaucoup plus utiles. Stenay seroit un point à fortifier; à son défaut Montmedy doit être conservé.

On a observé, que de distance en distance il falloit avoir des places de moyenne grandeur, pour y placer sûrement et commodément les munitions et les subsistances. Cet éloignement ne peut guère être que vingt à vingt-quatre lieues; c'est assez d'être dix ou douze lieues de son magasin principal, et surtout quand on n'a pas pour soi les voies de navigation.

Sedan se trouveroit assez bien située par rapport à son éloignement de Luxembourg pour remplir cet objet; mais cette place a des inconvéniens qui lui ôteroient une partie de son utilité.

Cette ville est remplie des fabriques et des métiers dont les productions sont précieuses, elle fournit le plus beau drap noir qu'il y ait en Europe, et d'autres de qualité supérieure, connue sous le nom de pagnon. Un bombardement lui seroit encore plus fâcheux qu'aux magasins qu'on y placeroit.

Le Duc de Bouillon, qui n'avoit qu'une place, la fortifia tant qu'il put, malgré les désavantages de sa situation du côté de la Garonne; mais c'étoit à la sortie d'un tems où l'on entreprenoit un siége mémorable avec trois ou quatre couleuvrines braquées contre une porte; ce qu'on a ajouté depuis à

Hosted by Google

ses fortifications n'a servi qu'à les étendre sans en diminuer l'imperfection.

Sedan est du nombre des places qu'on ne peut conserver, soit par rapport à l'espèce de ses habitans et la sorte l'industrie qui les occupe, soit par rapport aux défauts de son assiette, outrageusement dominée sur la moitié de sa circonférence, et pour avoir une place d'armes dans ces environs il faudroit nécessairement avancer jusqu'à Mézières. Cette ville seroit à peu près le milieu de l'étendue entre Luxembourg et Peronne; sa situation, dominée par le mont Olympe, n'est également pas sans défaut. Elle est moins grande que Sedan; mais en cas de siége ses habitans en seroient aussi plus faciles à contenir. Il y auroit peut-être quelque moyen de diminuer le préjudice que lui porte le mont Olympe, en l'escarpant ou en coupant: cette masse de rocher est isolée dans sa forme. Quoi qu'il en soit, et telle qu'elle est, cette place paroit préférable à la ville de Sedan pour en faire un lieu de dépôt.

En suivant la Meuse de Mézières à Charlemont, Rocroy se trouve à deux heures ou environ de la rive gauche.

Cette place dans sa situation ne défend ni le fleuve ni la campagne, aucune grande route n'y passe. Elle est beaucoup trop petite pour penser que la crainte de laisser à côté de soi une telle garnison pût empêcher une armée de s'engager dans cette partie de la Thierache, et quoiqu'Avesnes soit plus considérable que Rocroy, son utilité ne paroit pas plus grande. C'est la nature du terrain, couvert de vastes forêts, qui fait la première et la plus forte défense de cette partie.

D'ailleurs Avesnes est si près de Landrecy qu'il faudroit choisir entre l'une ou l'autre, et Landrecy à tous égards mérite la préférence. Mais nous nous sommes trop écartés sur la droite; il faut maintenant se rapprocher de la Somme.

La Feré, située à l'endroit où la navigation de l'Oise commence, qui communique à St. Quentin par une branche de canal, et qui renferme les emplacemens et ateliers nécessaires à un arsenal et à une école d'artillerie, la Feré qui étoit fortifiée à l'antique, comme toutes les villes du royaume quand elles appartenoient chacune à un seigneur différent, la Feré seroit un point à mettre en état de défense, puisqu'en se portant sur Paris, les subsistances et munitions embarquées à la Feré y arriveroient par l'Oise; et réciproquement les vivres d'une armée qui se porteroit de la Seine sur la Flandres, remontant par l'Oise, pourroient arriver par eau jusqu'à St. Quentin. On ôteroit une partie de cet avantage à l'ennemi en occupant La Feré. Cette place seroit le point intermédiaire entre la Meuse et la Somme, le lien commun

Hosted by Google

de ces deux parties, et elle couvriroit l'entrée de la Thierache, également utile dans l'offensive, par rapport à sa navigation de descente, et dans la défensive, en fermant et appuyant le flanc gauche du cours de la Somme.

En rasant les fortifications d'un certain nombre des places petites et grandes, on ne pourra guère éviter d'en rétablir quelques autres, d'autant qu'il faut faire maintenant front du côté opposé, et sur des rivières différentes; mais cette obligation ne seroit pas tellement pressante, qu'on n'eût le tems d'y satisfaire; d'ailleurs, ce qu'on retireroit des terrains occupés par les fortifications à démolir, et de leurs matériaux dans les grandes plaines, pourroit être consacré particulièrement à cette sorte de dépense.

Peronne, couverte du côté de Paris par une inondation et des marais d'une grande étendue, placée sur la route la plus directe des Pays-Bas, seroit vraiment une place de première ligne d'une grande importance; la situation n'est défectueuse d'aucun côté; la dépense nécessaire pour la mettre en état ne seroit pas considérable. Cette ville n'est ni fort peuplée ni commerçante; elle a toutes les conditions requises pour faire une place de guerre par rapport à la nouvelle frontière dont il s'agit.

On sait que Corbie et Amiens ont été dans leur temps des places fortes; Corbie pourroit être encore fortifiée, mais pour Amiens et Abbeville il y a trop de fabriques et d'ouvriers. C'est avec une armée qu'il faut garder la Somme depuis Peronne jusqu'à la mer; cependant comme il y a encore environ 40 lieues de Peronne jusqu'à l'embouchure de la Somme, une armée dans cette distance ne pouvant pas rester sans dépôt principal, il faudra conserver Hesdin sur la Lange pour cet usage. Cette place ne demande qu'à être réparée; il n'y auroit point de nouveaux ouvrages à faire.

Telle peut être la situation de la ligne de défense qui couvriroit les Pays-Bas en suivant les indications de la nature depuis Luxembourg jusqu'à St. Valery.

Indépendamment de cette première barrière, il y en a une seconde à établir, par rapport aux rivières et canaux qui conduisent dans les Pays-Bas, telles que la Lys, la Sambre, l'Escaut, etc.; il faut nécessairement maîtriser leur navigation par des points fortifiés; on ne peut céder à l'ennemi de si grands avantages. Il reste en outre à choisir une place d'armes générale au centre de ces différentes navigations.

En revenant à la Meuse pour former cette seconde ligne depuis Givet et Charlemont jusqu'à Dunkerque, on trouve

Hosted by Google

Philippeville, qui, dans la supposition d'une première ligne sur la Somme, se trouveroit absolument sans utilité: elle ne commande ni aux grandes routes des Pays-Bas, ni aux rivières; ce seroit une garnison perdue. Cette place est à supprimer.

Quant à Givet et Charlemont, ces deux places, qui n'en font qu'une, sont un autre Luxembourg. C'est la principale clef de la Meuse pour entrer de ce côté dans les Pays-Bas; elle a des issues dans le pays de Luxembourg par où on peut arriver sur ceux qui s'y seroient engagés; l'utilité de ce point d'appui ne peut être mis en question.

Maubeuge, située sur la Sambre, à l'endroit où cette rivière commence à pouvoir être de quelqu'utilité pour entrer dans les Pays-Bas, pourroit présenter quelqu'avantage en l'occupant; néanmoins cette place ne pouvant tenir que sous la protection d'un camp rétranché de cinq à six mille hommes, cette condition doit décider de son sort. Comme place de guerre, Maubeuge ne peut être conservée, et nous avons déjà condamné Rocroy et Avesnes.

Landrecy, également sur la Sambre, remplaceroit Maubeuge entre Givet et Valenciennes; et avec d'autant plus d'avantage, que Landrecy est plus avancée du côté de la France, et plus à portée de défendre la trouée entre Mézières et Peronne. D'ailleurs, quoique Landrecy ait aussi des désavantages de situation, cette place est beaucoup moins défectueuse que Maubeuge; il ne seroit pas fort difficile de la rendre plus résistante, en occupant la hauteur qui la domine du côté du Quesnoy, par quelques redoutes casematées avec communications souterraines bien disposées pour la guerre des mines, et dont la défense pourroit retarder la prise de la place; tout ce qu'on peut espérer des meilleures fortifications c'est de gagner du tems. En réduisant le nombre des places de guerre, on ne peut se dispenser de travailler à rendre plus résistantes celles qui seront conservées; moins on en a, plus elles deviennent précieuses.

Le Quesnoy est une bonne petite place, sans aucun défaut dans sa contexture; mais qui n'a d'autre utilité que de pouvoir tirer du canon à la ronde. Les places en pays ouvert, qui ne maîtrisent point les rivières et canaux navigables, qui ne peuvent pas servir de place d'armes ou principal dépôt, doivent être supprimées dans l'hypothèse que nous traitons. Le cas devient différent dans les contrées montagneuses où les grandes routes tiennent la place de rivières, et lorsqu'une place, ou seulement un fort, ferme le passage d'un défilé unique et important. Ici le Quesnoy ne défend que le sol sur lequel il se trouve.

Hosted by Google

En se rapprochant de la Somme, on trouve Bouchain et Cambray à droite.

Bouchain est une place très-forte, qui dispose des eaux de l'Escaut et de celles d'une autre rivière qui se jette dans l'Escaut sur les glacis. Les mouvemens d'eau qui sont à sa disposition s'étendent assez loin du côté de Cambray, d'Arleux et de Douay. Forte de ses inondations, elle est suffisamment gardée par 500 ou 600 hommes. Elle doit être conservée comme étant la première clef de la navigation de l'Escaut. Elle fit une grande résistance dans la guerre de la Succession.

Cambray, où il se fabrique beaucoup de toile, outre le défaut commun aux grandes places, a celui d'être en partie fortifiée par des ouvrages si élevés au-dessus de son glacis, qu'on pourroit raser la place de la première parallèle et sans porter les batteries plus loin, la navigation au-dessus de Cambray est à peu près nulle, et Bouchain remplit bien mieux cette dernière considération que Cambray.

Cependant jusqu'à ce que l'on ait mis Peronne en état de défense, la prudence exige que l'on conserve les fortifications de Cambray. Nous nous sommes suffisamment expliqué sur l'espèce de protection et les avantages que l'on peut retirer de l'art fortificateur, pour ne pas être soupçonné d'aimer les places inutiles; mais il faut de toute nécessité des places de dépôt, et elles ne doivent pas être trop éloignées les unes des autres, pour faciliter le mouvement des armées. Il faut remarquer qu'une troupe ne peut faire marcher avec elle que pour quatre jours de subsistances, dans lesquelles il ne faut pas même comprendre le foin et la paille. Il faut qu'au bout de ce terme on puisse atteindre un point de sûreté, d'où l'on reçoive le nécessaire, sans avoir à craindre de s'en trouver frustré par un accident que la foiblesse du dépôt ou son trop grand éloignement auroit occasionné. Telles sont les règles dont il n'est pas permis de s'écarter.

Par une suite de ces considérations on ne peut se dispenser de mettre Douay au nombre des places nécessaires à conserver dans toutes les circonstances. Elle maîtrise uniquement la navigation de la Scarpe qui donne celle de l'Escaut, sans que Bouchain, Valenciennes et Condé puissent y apporter le moindre obstacle. Elle communique par des canaux avec toutes les voies de navigation des Pays-Bas; l'emplacement de son arsenal se trouve comme au centre de la distance entre Givet et Dunkerque. L'établissement de cet arsenal réunit toutes les commodités imaginables; il ne peut être nulle part aussi bien placé, il en coûteroit beaucoup,

Hosted by Google

et en pure perte, pour transporter ailleurs ses superbes ateliers. La ville est grande, mais elle n'est pas peuplée; elle a peu ou point de commerce. Ce qui lui donne le plus de mouvement ce sont les tribunaux; en les transférant ailleurs, sa population diminueroit encore, et Douay deviendra le lieu le plus convenable pour en faire la place d'armes générale de cette frontière.

Sa situation est bonne et susceptible de prendre plus de force et de perfection; une partie en peut être couverte par une forte inondation. En tout il suffira d'y ajouter quelques dehors à demi revêtement, ce qui n'est pas fort coûteux. Nous avons observé que la principale force des places que la nature n'a pas mis en sûreté réside maintenant plus particulièrement dans la faculté de bien défendre leurs approches, que dans le nombre d'ouvrages que l'on emploie pour corriger les défauts de leur situation, et Douay est susceptible de cette faculté bien mieux que Valenciennes.

Douay, par rapport à ses communications par eau, à sa situation centrale, à son arsenal, à l'état de défense dont elle est susceptible sans de trop grand frais, paroit mériter à tous égards la préférence sur Valenciennes pour en faire la principale place d'armes des Pays-Bas.

Valenciennes ne peut remplacer Douay par rapport à la navigation de la Scarpe, qui conduit séparément à l'Escaut, ni par rapport aux canaux qui se rendent à Douay.

Valenciennes a des défauts de situation qui ne se trouvent point à Douay, et qui rendent Valenciennes, à cause de la hauteur extraordinaire de ses revêtemens, la place de France dont l'entretien est le plus coûteux.

Valenciennes peut être suffisamment remplacée sur l'Escaut par Bouchain et Condé; et aucun point ne peut remplacer Douay sur la Scarpe. Cette navigation est de la plus haute importance, puisqu'elle communique par ses canaux avec la Lys et Laas; c'est à dire à la mer, et à l'Escaut de deux manières, par la Lys et la Scarpe.

Quoique la ville d'Arras se trouve par le changement de frontières comme en première ligne, elle n'est cependant pas du nombre de celles qu'il seroit utile d'occuper. Elle ne seroit cependant pas mal placée pour un lieu de dépôt entre Peronne et Hesdin, si sa trop vaste enceinte et sa population n'empêchoient pas de la destiner à cet usage, à raison de quoi il faudroit y tenir une garnison considérable.

Néanmoins, avant de supprimer ses défenses, il faudra attendre que l'on ait mis en état quelques places sur la Somme, telles que Peronne, Corbie, ou Abbeville. Nous

Hosted by Google

avons déjà désigné Hesdin sur la gauche, mais la distance est encore bien grande entre Peronne et Hesdin, et il manque peut-être quelque chose à Hesdin du côté de la capitale; les places de dépôt, comme nous l'avons observé, ont besoin d'une certaine mesure de circonférence pour bien remplir cet objet.

Il n'en est pas de même de la ville de Lille; nulle considération ne peut empêcher qu'on ne rase sur le champ ses fortifications à l'exception de sa citadelle. Le nombre et le caractère de ses habitans doit rendre cette mesure aussi nécessaire en politique qu'elle l'est effectivement par les raisons de guerre. Lille ne maîtrise que sa propre navigation, elle n'assujettit ni celle de la Lys ni celle de l'Escaut. Sa citadelle ne servira même qu'à tenir en bride ses habitans.

La petite ville de Béthune, plus avancée vers la France, quoique sans défaut dans sa situation et ses fortifications, se trouve néanmoins sans importance entre Douay et Aire.

Cette dernière place, située sur la Lys, a tous les avantages désirables pour le poste qu'elle occupe; et son importance fait disparoitre entièrement celle de Béthune. Cependant Béthune est une des places qu'il ne faudra supprimer que lorsqu'on aura mis la Somme en état de défense.

La petite forteresse de St. Venant est très-utile à conserver par rapport à ses mouvemens d'eau, qui se font sentir jusqu'à Aire, ce qui augmente la force et la difficulté du siége de cette dernière place. Toute armée obligée de se diviser en deux parties, séparées par des grandes inondations, peut être d'autant plus facilement attaquée et battue que la moitié ne peut que difficilement secourir l'autre en défilant à travers une inondation: ce qui suppose encore la construction d'une levée ou chaussée pour gagner les ponts. Ces sortes de travaux, qui emportent beaucoup de tems, donnent aux places qui ont cet avantage le plus grand mérite dont l'art fortificateur puisse être susceptible.

D'après le système que l'on a exposé, l'utilité de St. Omer devient problématique. Cependant St. Omer est un centre de navigation entre la Lys, Dunkerque, et les canaux qui joignent la Lys à Laas, qui, avec les wattergangs, environnent et couvrent Gravelines, Dunkerque et Bergues jusqu'à Furnes, ce qui forme une ligne de défense convexe de l'espèce la plus avantageuse, couvrant la trouée entre la Lys et l'Isère, par laquelle on peut entrer en Flandres. Ce qu'on en peut dire maintenant, c'est que c'est une des places qu'il ne faut pas se presser de démolir.

On a pu distinguer dans ce que nous avons exposé, deux

Hosted by Google

sortes de démarcations, l'une prise dans la nature, en formant une ligne de défense de Luxembourg à la mer par la Meuse et la Somme. L'autre, composée d'un cordon de place maîtrisant particulièrement les rivières et canaux navigables et servant d'entrepôt pour les besoins des armées, depuis Givet jusqu'à Dunkerque.

Comme il n'est pas de notre compétance de régler l'étendue des nouvelles frontières, nous n'avons pu raisonner ici que d'après les données fixes que le terrain présente: c'est à ceux qui conduisent la politique à conclure ce qu'il y aura à faire, d'après les rapports que l'on vient d'établir pour l'une et l'autre démarcation, en observant que la dernière s'arrêteroit au cordon qui passeroit de Givet à Landrecy, à Bouchain (Valenciennes et Condé en arrière), à Douay et Aire (St. Venant et Lille en arrière), Gravelines, Bergue et Dunkerque.

Ces trois places sont si voisines, les unes des autres, que l'on sera peut-être tenté de demander, pourquoi cette exception à l'espèce de règle que l'on a annoncée à l'égard du choix des lieux fortifiés. On a à répondre qu'il ne faut pas considérer cette partie comme un pays ouvert; coupée par différents canaux, par une infinité de wattergangs, dont il peut être utile d'arrêter les écoulemens, il faut s'en assurer la faculté, et rester maître des défilés et des routes qui conduisent à Dunkerque, et telle est l'utilité de Gravelines et de Bergues.

On ne fera point ici mention particulière de Calais. Si les frontières sont fixées sur la Somme, il est clair que Calais sera compris dans leur enceinte, et alors Calais peut être considérée comme la droite de la seconde ligne.

Si les frontières ne sont pas portées sur la Somme, ne pouvant prévoir comment elles seront tracées, on ne peut raisonner sur l'utilité ou l'inutilité de Calais, qui par soi-même ne présente rien de positif.

Mais dans cette dernière hypothèse, Douay ne peut plus devenir la place d'armes générale de cette frontière. Il n'est pas d'usage que la place d'armes générale se trouve en première ligne; ce n'est pas la peine d'en exposer les raisons; ce seroit alors Valenciennes qu'il faudroit substituer à Douay, avec beaucoup de désavantages.

Cependant il n'en faudroit pas moins ou tenir Douay en état de défense ou fortifier exprès quelque point aux environs qui puisse également maîtriser la navigation de la Scarpe et celle des canaux qui conduisent à la Lys. On en a exposé la nécessité. Le fort de Scarpe n'est qu'une redoute, incapable de remplir cet objet.

Hosted by Google

En prenant la Somme pour ligne de défense, Douay reprend toute son importance.

Si l'on n'a point encore parlé de Condé, c'est que dans toutes les hypothèses sa grande utilité reste la même, et qu'il deviendroit fastidieux de vouloir suivre les suppositions, les arrangemens et les dérangemens possibles de la politique.

Cette place domine la navigation de la Hague et de l'Escaut, elle est parfaite dans son genre; les deux tiers de sa circonférence sont couverts par une vaste inondation et le front attaquable rase en plateau qui ne laisse aucun couvert devant lui; elle auroit assez de capacité, si on n'avoit pas donné trop d'emplacemens aux maisons bourgeoises, aux dépens des commodités militaires; mais cette faute seroit facile à réparer.

Avec Bouchain et Condé, l'Escaut et la Hague sont suffisamment défendus; et Valenciennes ne peut avoir d'utilité qu'autant que l'on seroit contraint de mettre Douay en première ligne, et de faire de Valenciennes un lieu d'entrepôt général; lequel toutefois, auroit été bien mieux placé à Tournay si on en avoit laissé subsister les fortifications et la magnifique citadelle.

A l'égard de la gauche entière, depuis Luxembourg jusqu'à Mézières, où il faut laisser les choses comme elles sont, ou s'avancer jusqu'à la Meuse; il ne peut y avoir d'autre combinaison, et on s'est expliqué sur ce qui concerne Longwy, Montmedy, Sedan et Mézières.

Dans l'ignorance des intentions que les puissances peuvent avoir par rapport aux nouvelles frontières dont il s'agit, nous ne pouvons prendre d'autres conclusions sur ce qui a été exposé ici; et ce qui nous a porté à cet examen est uniquement le motif de soumettre à la réflexion des personnes qui régleront ces grands objets les accidens du local et les rapports particuliers de chaque endroit, avec les grands rapports militaires, pour en former un ensemble régulier, autant que les considérations politiques pourront le permettre. Quand on sait ce qu'il faudroit avoir, on sait ce que l'on a à demander.

Peut-être encore que ces premières idées en feront naître de meilleures, et ce seroit toujours une sorte d'utilité.

Hosted by Google

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Vienna, July 31st, 1793.

My dear Brother,—Carried to the Somme will, I should think, surpass expectation. The idea pleases me greatly, and I confess that I do not wish to see any part attached to the island. The little miserable jealousies affect me very sensibly, but these must disappear: perhaps they may at this moment be increased by Miss Windsor's husband* having not given the letter desired from your Hampstead friend to his colleague, and from his having immediately told of Hampstead's masters being ready to forego their barter. The idea of any cession to Nic Frog†, is, I suspect, grating, though the Somme ought to wash it away.

The Polish business is at an end. The King wished to appear brave, and resisted because he thought that the Diet, the scum of the nation, would not for a moment have withstood the autocratrice's will.

I have no sanguine hopes from the 6000 Neapolitans. What think you of the capitulation of Mayence? Though the garrison may have honour enough, which is not to be expected, not to serve against the combined powers, they may be sent to serve, and with much greater effect, against the royalists. Nothing but the most vigorous conduct on the part of the Prussians can justify it. Hitherto, alas! there is no plan settled.

Count Stahremberg speaks with great gratitude of your kindness. His mother, who is a most respectable and good woman, is in a very bad way, though still able to see company.

* Lord Yarmouth.

† Holland.

Hosted by Google

Adieu, with every good wish. Believe me to be ever your obliged and affectionate brother,

MORTON EDEN.

I know not who are Vaudreuil's correspondents in England, but they represent the country as ready to burst into a flame.

Hosted by Google

CHAP. XXVIII.

Austria and Sardinia in the South.—Marie Antoinette removed to the Conciergerie.—Despair of the Count de Mercy.—The March on Paris.—The Siege of Dunkirk.—Its Failure.—Lord Chatham and the Duke of Richmond,—The Attack on Maubeuge.—State of Society at Stockholm.—Lord Loughborough on the Affairs of Ireland.

WHILE the allies were differing about "indemnity" in the North, the Austrians and Sardinians were squabbling about "indemnity" in the South.

It appears that Sardinia was very desirous of annexing a portion of French territory, and hoped, with Austrian assistance, to effect that object. Austria, however, not being willing to make war for an idea, was determined that Sardinia should not retain any conquest made in France, unless she would consent to restore a portion of territory formerly belonging to Lombardy.

Lord Henry Spencer to Lord Auckland.

Hamborough, August 6th, 1793.

My dear Lord,—I remember Lord Newborough wrote word from Helvoët that your kindness had preceded him to the sea-side. I may say with more truth, and not less elegance, that your friendly communications have accompanied me on my journey. I received your letter of the 25th at this place, and I am not without hopes of hearing again from you at Copenhagen, where I hope to arrive about Sunday or Monday next. I shall certainly be settled (perhaps more so than I wish) at Stockholm by the end of this month. I already find a great difference here, notwithstanding it is a busy and commercial

Hosted by Google

town, from the incessant run of politics in which I was engaged at the Hague. I apprehend that in the "cool retreat" which I am now seeking the events which interest Europe lose all their importance from the distance of time and place, and are regarded as little more than a page of past history.

I believe you are right in supposing that not many despatches are sent to Stockholm; this, however, makes it more extraordinary that no kind of instructions should be given me for my first *entrée*. At present I have nothing to do but to eat and drink, and am not authorised to ask the Regent what o'clock it is.

I was much entertained and much edified by Lady Auckland's kind epistle. Pray tell her that the character she gives of me, and the advice with which it is accompanied, will serve me at Stockholm both for credentials and instructions.

You will by this time have seen the Greffier. I have not given him letters to any of my family, because I did not choose to put it into their power to be rude to him. You will, perhaps, have an opportunity of explaining to him that we are an odd set of people.

I had already determined to take in the "Sun," and the "Sun" only, and had sent on word accordingly.

Garlike tells me he has written to you about Madame de Bentinck. She is an original, and a fine old royalist. She said that, "Marat auroit dû périr du coup de pied d'un âne, plutôt que des mains d'une jolie femme."

My three horses arrived here to-day, with Richard on one, Renard on another, and Beau-bled on a third. The poor Frenchmen were almost dead with fatigue. They will embark at Lubec.

I am ever, my dear Lord, most truly and faithfully yours,

SPENCER.

Hosted by Google

It will be seen by the following letter that the ministers were all in the country at the crisis of the war, — not even the war minister in town.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Beckenham, August 9th, 1793.

My dear Lord Henry,—I write because it is the post day, but I have little to say. The dispersed and rusticated life of English politicians during the summer months makes it difficult to collect intelligence for you before it appears in the newspapers. Mr. Fox is in Hampshire; Mr. Pitt is on a course of visits to different friends in the neighbourhood of London, and talks of going into Somersetshire. Mr. Dundas is at Tunbridge; Lord Grenville at Dropmore. We stick steadily to this place. I go once in three weeks to the levée, but decline all invitations to dinner, or from home; and the distance of this place is so convenient for friends that we are never without society. We are every day in the different parts of the neighbourhood by the aid of our Dutch horse and the treble phaeton, which carries seven or eight. The four eldest girls are in full health, and ride every morning, and pursue for the rest of the day the old course of teaching and amusement. The three boys are at Mitcham, and make their first visit to us to-morrow. Louisa is, as usual, the sovereign of the house, and Charles is the *fils unique*, and of course much loaded by us all.

Yesterday, at dinner-time, we were delighted by the arrival of the Greffier and of James Fagel. They return to town to-day, and will carry this scrawl. On Sunday they go to Dropmore, and will be presented to the King on the terrace. The Greffier is in a dream of delight and astonishment at this country. I suspect that he will stay here several weeks. I wish to write to-night to the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough that he is come. They are

Hosted by Google

said to be returned to Sion. I apprehend they will not have the courage to molest him. I do not believe that there is any news beyond what you see in the newspapers.

I have ordered your addition of plate, and it sails this week.

I am, my dear Lord Henry, ever affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Vienna, August 10th, 1793.

My dear Brother, — The last letters from Italy brought accounts of the arrival of Lord Hood's fleet of twenty-five sail of the line, on the 16th past, before Toulon. I hope that he will effectuate something worthy of his great force, though I am not sanguine in my expectations, if his success is to depend on either of our Italian allies. Their military force is equally wretched, I have asked here for further assistance, but the answer has been that the 8500 men now in Piedmont, with their commander M. de Vins, are at the King's disposal, but that they cannot furnish more without knowing our plan of operations; and, at all events, the number must be small, since their whole force in the Milanese does not exceed 11,000 men; and yet Trevor * writes to me, as if I was the Emperor's first minister, to send him 10,000 or 12,000 men. Though disposed to give every support to any measure proposed by the King, they will not listen to the pressing instances of the Court of Turin to furnish them such assistance as might enable them to make an offensive war, unless that court will first consent to share the conquests, (none being made, the assistance is to be gratis,) and afterwards retain what might fall to the share of Austria, and give in exchange for it part of what was wrested from this monarchy at the Treaty of Worms.† They allege, and fairly enough, that they

* English Minister at Turin.

† In 1743, territory by the Lago Maggiore had been given up to the

Hosted by Google

cannot wantonly sacrifice their troops for the aggrandisement of the King of Sardinia; a great force they have not to give, and a small one would not be able to support itself, and might only serve to unite the contending parties in the South of France, whose dissensions, even by General de Vin's last accounts, have put an end to all apprehensions of an invasion; and lastly, that the proposed exchange being declined, this country could and would employ its troops with more advantage to itself and the common cause, either in the Low Countries or on the Rhine. It is to be lamented that no plan of operations has been concerted between us; if we are to have another campaign, this essential point will, I trust, be better regulated. Spain, I understand, complains of our reticence, but it is not surprising to me, as I understand that D'Aranda has still a party in the Spanish Cabinet, which of course will endeavour to thwart any dismemberment of France.

The old jealousy between this Court and that of Berlin every day increases; the conduct of the latter is inexplicable, and certainly not calculated to restore confidence. M. de Lehrbach is gone to the Prussian head-quarters loaded with *paperasse*, but not, as I believe, with any specific commission of importance. He is a very able man, but too hasty, and therefore, ill qualified to act at the present arduous moment, when it is necessary to withdraw from the King of Prussia the joint imperial power with which he seems to have been vested since M. de Spielman's weak or corrupt administration.

I live on the best footing with Baron Thugut. He is communicative, and has never deceived me. He is undoubtedly the ablest man in the country, and perhaps the only one equal to the business of the mo-

Sardinians. By the second Treaty of Vienna, in 1738, Austria had already ceded the Novarese, Tortona, &c. The Sardinian Government always regarded "Lombardy as an artichoke, to be swallowed leaf by leaf."

Hosted by Google

ment. But he is growing old*, and has at this moment a remitting fever. This, with the weight of business, (though, since he entered into the ministry, the prospect has greatly brightened,) oppresses him. He groans, and often sighs after repose, but he assures me he will abide by his post till the peace, if his health will permit him to continue his functions. He feels, perhaps more strongly than I do, the disappointment that the negotiation for our alliance should be carried on at London. He thinks and says that Count Stahremberg is unequal to the task, and has given me sufficient vouchers for this opinion. His letters are only uniform in urging the sending the full powers for the conclusion of the treaty. Lord Grenville, as I told you, has favoured me with a statement of the business, as far as it is yet gone. Its progress seems very favourable, and its conclusion appears to depend alone on this Court admitting, as its basis, a renunciation of the projected exchange of the Low Countries. This M. de Thugut uniformly assures me they are ready to do, provided that their barrier can be obtained. The act of renunciation is to be specified in the alliance, and not, as M. de Stahremberg at one time said, in a joint military convention with the King of Prussia, which is sufficiently evinced as well by the convention concluded with that monarch as by the project sent hither and now returned; nor, from Lord Grenville's letter to me, does it appear that there ever existed such an intention.

In a despatch received yesterday from Count Stahremberg, he again urges the sending of the full power, in order, as he adds, to be in readiness to sign the treaty, whenever called upon by Lord G. M. de Thugut expresses his surprise at such a request, and concludes it to be a mistake of Count Stahremberg's. He says, however, that if Lord Grenville chooses to conclude it at present, and for any reason wishes to

* Born at Linz in 1739. He was the son of a boatman, and his real name was Thu-ni-gut, which Maria Theresa changed into Thugut.

Hosted by Google

keep it a secret till a particular period, this Court will either consent to that, or to the drawing up the articles now, and the signing of them at the peace.

I certainly feel how flattering it would have been to have had my name transmitted to posterity at the bottom of a treaty* which will overturn the political system of the last forty years, and which I trust will be permanent, and make us masters of the peace of Europe for a long course of time. I however observed to him that he must feel how totally impracticable it would be for me to attempt to withdraw the negotiation from Lord Grenville's hands, and expressed my wishes that, lest Lord Grenville should take umbrage, he would leave the business to Stahremberg, and direct him to request Lord Grenville to draw up a project of a treaty, or that he himself should transmit one to be communicated to his Lordship. He complains of Lord Yarmouth's indiscretion, and with some appearance of justice; for the strictest secrecy having been enjoined by Lord Grenville relative to our negotiation, his having in his first conference with Luchesini declared that the Emperor had already promised us to forego the exchange of the Low Countries, seems to imply that something is in agitation between us. His Prussian Majesty, now that he has got Poland, is no less contrary than we are to this exchange; and whilst the apprehension of it remained, his co-operation to procure for this country some acquisition in France might have been more easily procured.

The indemnification for Holland will be an arduous business. This Court seems unwilling to think of any cession, but if the new barrier be carried to the extent that you intimated, this difficulty will be easily got over. In the mean time, an incident has happened that makes a general outcry against the republic, which, having been so lately saved by the

* A treaty of alliance between England and Austria was signed on the 30th August by Lord Grenville and Count Stahremberg.

Hosted by Google

Austrian army, is taxed with ingratitude for having refused the passage of the Scheldt to some vessels freighted for Antwerp with corn for the use of that very army. This corn was sent from Bohemia by the Elbe to Hamburg, with a calculation that it would come cheaper than that which might be purchased on the spot,—would keep the money in the country, and furnish a sale for their own corn, which is in such abundance as to bear a very low price. Every offer of giving for each passport the fullest acknowledgment of the republic's sovereignty over the passage, from which the permission demanded was not to derogate, was made and rejected. The corn is rotting in the vessels, the masters of which will of course make a heavy demand for demurrage.

Yesterday a *corps franc*, raised on the frontiers of Hungary, and which is to be paid by the nobility of this place, passed here on their way to the army. I never saw such a set of desperate cut-throats.

Poor Madame de Polignac is in a bad way, and has for some time past been unable to see any company. I like the family very much, but the complaints there of the treatment of the Princes, &c., are so constant, that it is unpleasant to go there. Vaudreuil is the most violent, but, from the language of them all, it is evident that if restored to their country to-morrow, they will not be become wiser, nor would a moment hesitate to enter into new wars to recover what may be taken from France at the peace. Gratitude to individuals for kindness shown to the *émigrés* they profess, but all obligations that they might have laid under to our Government are done away by the sending of the corps of *émigrés* to the Low Countries to fight against their country. It was in vain to observe that this corps has remained most peaceably at Ostend.

We know nothing of Dumouriez since he left the Austrian Netherlands. On a report that he had returned thither in disguise, orders were given by the government at Brussels to the different *fiscaux* to make the most exact perquisitions after him.

Hosted by Google

Mr. Craufurd to Lord Auckland.

Brussels, August 13th, 1793.

My Lord,—I had the honour to write to your Lordship on the day I left London, and to enclose you letters that I had received from M. de Fersen and the Baron de Breteuil. I took the liberty to say that I had referred M. de Vaugiraud entirely to your Lordship, and to express a wish, in case of his not being employed, that he should be allowed something for the expense of his journey, which would enable him to reimburse the Baron what he had advanced to him on that account.

Your Lordship will be informed of the late motions of the combined armies,—that the French had abandoned their famous camp of *César*, and thrown themselves into Douay and other places. The plan agreed upon after that the dispersion of the French should be effected was that the Duke of York should march towards Dunkirk, and the Prince of Coburg attack Quesnoy and Maubeuge. On approaching Cambray the commandant was summoned to surrender it, which he refused. There are considerable magazines there, and it became a question whether, as the place had been summoned, it was not fit to reduce it; after the refusal of the commandant, the retrograde motions towards Quesnoy, &c., might be interpreted into retreat, raise the spirits of the enemy, and the influence of the Convention; encourage them to make greater efforts, and perhaps lead them to commit some of those excesses which have chiefly manifested themselves in those moments of success that have succeeded extreme apprehension.

On the 11th we received the first certain information of the Queen's having been sent from the Temple to the Conciergerie, in order to be tried before the Tribunal Révolutionnaire. M. de Mercy*, who is now here, was affected to a degree much beyond what

* M. de Mercy, who had been long Ambassador at Paris, was devotedly attached to Marie Antoinette.

Hosted by Google

I should have expected, and wrote* to the Prince of Coburg to submit to his consideration whether, under the present circumstances, it would not be more advisable to reduce Cambray and push on a body of troops towards Paris, than, immediately on receiving such information, fall back towards Quesnoy. Lord Elgin, I believe, has written fully on the subject to Lord Grenville, and M. de Mercy to M. de Stahremberg, and as you may probably see their letters I shall not trouble your Lordship by repeating their reasonings. No answer has yet been received from the Prince of Coburg. I think a general, especially an Austrian general of a very decided character, would adopt what has been proposed;—he has *the chance* of saving the royal family, and perhaps terminating the war. The approach of an army would prevent any force from being formed between the frontiers and Paris; it would probably derange what has been decreed in regard to the Vendée; it might induce the people of Paris to rise in defence of the royal family and disperse the Convention, and if the hopes of saving the royal family should fail, perhaps a man of *a very decided character* would destroy a town where more crimes have been imagined and perpetrated than in any one place in the same space of time ever since the world was created,—and by doing so, it is not impossible that he would terminate the whole.

I beg of your Lordship to do me the honour to present my best respects to Lady Auckland, and to believe me to be

Your very faithful and obliged, humble servant,

QU. CRAUFURD.

Lord Henry Spencer to Lord Auckland.

Copenhagen, August 17th, 1793.

My dear Lord,—I write a line merely to inform you of my progress towards the North Pole. I

* This letter will be found in "Mirabeau's Correspondence with the Count de la Marck."

Hosted by Google

arrived here on Sunday last, having travelled in courier from Hamburg, and accomplished the whole journey in about four days and three nights. I set out on Monday for Sweden, and feel some regret at leaving the finest town and most beautiful country that I ever was in. Almost the whole of this island is like a nobleman's park, with the advantage of the sea, which, added to the best grown woods, and the most picturesque ground I ever saw, makes it a continual series of fine prospects. Every minister has a country house in the neighbourhood, and we dine with them all by turns. The day before yesterday Count Bernstorff gave us a turtle-feast at his château. Hailes* has been excessively civil, and has devoted his whole time to us ever since our arrival.

I learn from my sister Elizabeth that my father is to leave Brighthelmstone as soon as the Oxfordshire Militia arrives there. He will hardly go to Blenheim, because my brother is to be the steward of the Oxford races. It is a sad inconvenience in England that people can go to no place without meeting with relations and friends. I am determined not to add to the embarrassment, and shall keep out of the way till I am sure that my presence and that of the rest of us will be perfectly agreeable.

People talk of Lord Elgin being appointed Ambassador to Madrid.

I suppose you do not much care about the politics of these Courts. The Russian fleet is within thirty miles of this place, and is so situated as to block up the port. But as yet this circumstance has produced no change of language or measures.†

I am ever, my dear Lord, most sincerely and faithfully yours,

H. Spencer.

The Court are all in the country, and some of them twenty miles off, so that I shall not see any of them.

* The Duke of Dorset's friend, now Minister at Copenhagen.

† The Danish Government was supporting the cause of France.

Hosted by Google

Lord Henry Spencer to Lord Auckland.

Stockholm, August 30th, 1793.

My dear Lord,—Your No. 1 found me at Elsinore, looking on the opposite coast and on Helsingburgh, which is only four English miles over, and with a perfectly fair wind. Notwithstanding these favourable circumstances, the Danes had the hospitality to keep me two days on their side the water under various pretences. Our journey through Sweden was amusing enough, from the picturesque barbarity of the country. We travelled a hundred miles without coming to any town, or to anything but a few wooden huts, and now and then a wooden church standing quite by itself, and resorted to by all the people in a circuit of twenty or thirty miles. The whole road is a series of mountains, or rather rocks, and the only general rule of the drivers is to go full gallop down every steep descent they come to, by which means they acquire an impetus which carries them part of the way up the opposite hill.

I found here two long and interesting despatches from Lord Grenville, and I have thanked him in proper terms for the attention. I hope they will continue, though their contents and the general tenour of them may lead to some difficulty, especially as what is required in them is what can be obtained only by a long residence in the place, and an intimate acquaintance with the people. The long residence I may probably have if I like it, but the intimate acquaintance is less easy, for I have not yet been able to trace that any foreign minister is admitted into any Swedish house.

I am to be presented on Sunday, and am now busy learning the etiquette, an abridgment of which, in a dozen folio pages, has been left by Mr. Liston for the use of his successors. The exact number of bows,

Hosted by Google

and almost every look and gesture, are there accurately laid down.

Renard's is a muddy business.

Ever sincerely yours,

H. SPENCER.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Walmer Castle, September 8th, 1793.

My dear Lord,—The occupation of missing partridges has so completely consumed all my mornings since I have been here, that I have not had time sooner to congratulate you on the addition* to your family, and to assure you how happy I shall be to undertake the office of godfather. I think it most probable that I shall not be further from you than London or Hollwood at the time of the christening, in which case I shall be very glad of so good a reason of taking a dinner at Beckenham.

May I beg my best compliments to Lady Auckland, who, I hope, goes on well. We understand the batteries are opened against Dunkirk; and Admiral Macbride † sailed from hence yesterday afternoon, having previously sent several vessels to the coast.

Believe me, my dear Lord, very sincerely yours,

W. PITT.

Lord Loughborough to Lord Auckland.

My dear Lord,—The good accounts you have sent us of Lady Auckland and your daughter gave us all the greatest satisfaction; and I should have written to express it to you last night if I had not been oppressed by (an uncommon complaint for me) a violent headache. This evening I feel perfectly relieved from it, and have risked the trial of the herrings I am obliged to you for, which are extremely

* Dulcibella, married in 1819 to Charles Drummond, Esq.

† Admiral Macbride arrived too late. The siege was raised on the day this letter was written.

Hosted by Google

good; but your bounty has been so lavish that all Tunbridge will not afford consumption for them. In the regular course of circulation, I suppose about three weeks hence I shall learn the course of the Duke of Brunswick's masterly march, which you mention, and I can only say upon it, better late than never. For the operations nearer to us, I confess my headache has excited very uneasy apprehensions; things stand here at a great risk, and a failure would have very bad consequences. I agree with you that the time is come when a manifesto would be very proper (provided it follows success); but the difficulty of framing one is not slight. I have sent some hints upon it; but if I get my ideas a little better arranged, I shall try to form some sketch of it. This depends totally on the state of the siege of Dunkirk, on which the fate of this autumn hangs, and I hope it will not blast the promises of the spring.

Yours ever,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

Mr. Craufurd to Lord Auckland.

(Private.) Brussels, September 13th, 1793.

My Lord,—I had the honour to write to your Lordship on the 3rd, and what I then so much apprehended has unfortunately come to pass. That the enemy, who had abandoned Quesnoy to its fate, should make some very powerful effort to relieve Dunkirk, was naturally expected; and it was likewise feared that if they came in great force the Maréchal de Freytag, who had scarcely 15,000 men, would be forced from his position. Their intentions, and the measures they were taking to execute them, were publicly known; they were mentioned in their conventions, and published in their gazettes.

Professional men still persist in blaming the attack on maritime Flanders at so late a season, and say that nothing could justify it but the Duke of York's finding everything in readiness on his arrival before

Hosted by Google

Dunkirk for immediately besieging the place. That in that case, and with a powerful co-operation from the sea*, it might perhaps have been carried immediately, and in all human probability could not, at farthest, have held out above ten or twelve days; but they observe that instead of this, after the most rapid successes in carrying all the enemy's advanced posts, and on which they had very much relied for the defence of Dunkirk, his Royal Highness was under the necessity of waiting above a fortnight without being able to do anything, during which time the enemy were masters of the shore, and entirely commanded it by their gunboats. They say that the lateness of the season and the probability of heavy rains, as well as to have as little time as possible for the enemy to render the approach to the place still more difficult, and bring forward their troops, justified the great celerity of the Duke's motions from the time that he quitted the Prince of Coburg.

As your Lordship knows my sentiments, I write to you on this subject with the greater freedom, and communicate the language that is generally held, not only by the Austrians, but such of the French whose experience and local knowledge enable them to judge and entitle them to attention. The plan of the Prince of Coburg, after the reduction of Quesnoy, was immediately to attack Landrecy, which, according to the opinions of her chief engineer and commanding officer of artillery, must have been taken in eight or ten days; then to have attacked Maubeuge, which, it is thought, would be taken immediately, as its only defence is the entrenched camp which entirely commands it. But whether the late events may not oblige him to change his plan, I am yet ignorant. The Count de la Marck, who left M. de Mercy on the

* Sir Harry Calvert, in his Journal, expresses his surprise "that an undertaking strongly recommended from home received no countenance or naval co-operation. This remissness on the part of the Government excited much indignation in the army, and no small astonishment among our allies."—*Calvert's Journal*, p. 121.

Hosted by Google

11th, tells me that whatever the Duke of York may demand will be complied with; but he thinks that the Prince of Coburg may detach 8000 or 10,000 men to strengthen Beaulieu, put Beaulieu under the orders of the Duke, and still proceed in the attack of Landrecy and Maubeuge. He, as well as other military men who know the country, think it very possible that Houchard's army may be cut off; but whether it be cut off or only driven from the country, they insist that the allies should get them out of it as fast as they can. They say if supplies be prevented from getting into the fortified places there by sea, it will be extremely practicable to hinder any from getting into them by land, in which case they must inevitably fall during the winter.

Your Lordship's most faithful and obliged, humble servant,

QU. CRAUFURD.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Sheffield Place, September 22nd, 1793.

I shall send you the whole young brood of bantams, six in number, with the old cock, who does not seem to be in good health. You may eat such as you do not want. Sir Joseph Banks wished to have a cock and a hen. I think they might travel by the carrier, and be left at Croydon or where you may appoint. I hope the Misses Charlotte and Caroline will be pleased with them.

I am very much annoyed by the retrograde state of our affairs in Flanders. What Prince Coburg did with 30,000 men against Dumouriez in the spring is the completest satire on the late operations, and is unanswerable. I am very thankful for sundry sentences in your letter. Frederick North and Douglas, on Friday came, and remain here. Not a word of the Lord Chancellor since my last; nor do I know whether he is coming. The party at this house will break up the latter end of next week. I shall

Hosted by Google

not move to Tunbridge Wells or Brighton without giving you notice. I rejoice in the junction of the armies. I foreboded mischief the moment I heard of its division. I think the Duke of Richmond will exculpate himself in respect to the charge of inattention and neglect. I hear from those most in the situation of knowing, that every order has been supplied, and, in cases of necessity, from the nearest points, without waiting for the usual regular routine, even in any one instance, of preparation for the siege or other services under the Duke of York. On the subject of the gun-boats, it is only necessary to observe that the guns could not conveniently go without the boats; but the guns, with their stores, were all ready before the boats arrived at Woolwich. I wish you were First Lord of the Admiralty.

Yours ever,

SHEFFIELD.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Sheffield Place, September 25th, 1793.

Many thanks for your good intentions in respect to the good news from the Duke of Brunswick's army. It was two days in coming. I had the same bulletin, by good luck, the day before. But the victory at Lyons delights me most. Will there be no end to the fighting between Wurmser and the *sans culottes?* Surely the good disposition at Bordeaux and the defeat in Vendée must bother the Convention. I understand Lord Hood has placed his fireships and fleet in such manner that, in case he cannot hold Toulon, he can destroy every ship, all the stores, and ruin the harbour, for the present at least, by the sinking of vessels. If this be not true, I cannot be delighted with the state of things there. It grieves me to hear that the Prince of Coburg has offered the command of the siege of Maubeuge to the hereditary Prince of Orange. Is not the Dutch army annihilated for the present?

Hosted by Google

I will give you a sample of the wisdom of the Court at Ham, in a letter from the Baron of Castelnau, a kind of negotiator employed by the Princes (who has been in Switzerland and in Spain, and who everywhere related to the *aubergistes* all the secrets of his mission), in answer to a letter from poor Mounier, who, on the murder of Louis XVI., was desirous of co-operating with the Princes in avenging his death, and offered his services. "Les princes sont persuadés de la pureté de votre royalisme, mais ils ne peuvent pas accepter vos services pour l'instant, et cela par un motif que vous fait honneur. Vous êtes, monsieur, un homme trop marquant. Vos opinions n'ont pas été en tout celles des princes; et en vous recevant aujourd'hui près d'eux, ils craindroient qu'on ne les soupçonnât de pouvoir entendre à un accommodement."

I am glad the reports of the Duke of Richmond's resignation * are not true. I do not know where you would find so good a Master of the Ordnance. It would be a grand derangement. I went yesterday with Sylvester Douglas, leaving Gibbon and Fred North in possession of the library and of the ladies, to the camp. Much tranquillity, except from wind, has prevailed there lately, and those who have been growling on account of over-work begin to wish for more action; in that they may soon be gratified, for the Duke is daily expected. I know not when I shall be in town, because the business at the Exchequer Bill Board is become a mere matter of routine, and seven commissioners are easily found without me; however, I hold myself in readiness whenever they please to think I can be of the least use. I believe I have already told you how correctly the first instalment has been paid. The measure surely has exceeded the most sanguine expectation. I always

* It seems that on account of the failure at Dunkirk, there was a difference between Lord Chatham and the Duke of Richmond. The First Lord of the Admiralty complained that the fleet was ready but the guns were not; the Master of the Ordnance denied that the fleet was ready to take the guns.

Hosted by Google

augured well of it. I have often opportunities of hearing from Yorkshire, as well as from other parts. Trade is certainly on the increase, but the capitals of many people are locked up abroad, in Flanders, Spain, &c. I am quite indignant to find that your Mercury drove the sheep in one day to Beckenham—thirty-five miles. It might have hurt them very much. I do not yet know the price of your sheep; you shall know soon. A fresh detachment with the bantams shall be in readiness. I should not omit to mention that Lord Thurlow, who is at East Bourne, gives it as his opinion there that the Exchequer* Bill business was a needless and unjustifiable measure. The private bankruptcies, however numerous, were no public concern. Property is not annihilated, and whether A. or B. holds it is no matter; and for what purpose lend money to a man whose trade is stopped? If he uses the money to increase his stock, he encumbers himself with an addition to that which already oppresses him, &c. I have a letter from him, which says he will call here on his way to London. I flatter myself I can beat him on the above subject at least.

Yours ever most faithfully,

SHEFFIELD.

Lord Henry Spencer to Lord Auckland.

Stockholm, October 1st, 1793.

My dear Lord,—Since I last wrote I have had the pleasure of receiving your letters down to the 12th ult. I do not write so often as you, because, in proportion as everything that comes here from England is interesting, whatever I could write to England from hence must be unimportant. I shall feel the truth of this severely in my public letters, insomuch so that unless the distresses of this country should determine folks in power to call together certain deputies, contrary to the will of the late possessor, I do not see

* In order to avoid a mercantile crisis, Government had made advances to the merchants.

Hosted by Google

how I shall be able to send a few flimsy lines so often as once a week.

With respect to my way of life here, it is unlike anything I have seen since I left college. A morning's ride or walk, a tête-à-tête dinner with Garlike, and two or three hours' lounging in a place called a club, where you may play at billiards and drink punch, form the life which I lead here at present; and if I were to stay here ten years, I have no reason to think that any change would take place.

There is, however, a court and Swedish opera once a fortnight, and it is then only that we get a sight of the fair sex, which in this country consists of about thirty or forty elderly women, who are said to be very lively and very amorous. There is only one female in the corps, who never goes out; and if a foreign minister should get admitted into a Swedish house, he is expected to go away at eight o'clock. In short, the seclusion is so complete, that I can compare myself to nothing but to a man suddenly fallen into a coal-pit, and I don't know whether it is to be wished that I should be heartily tired of such a way of life, or that I should take a liking to it. In the former case I shall become melancholy mad, and in the latter I shall acquire such a degree of rust as will make me unfit to appear in good company.

Adieu, my dear Lord. Yours,

H. SPENCER.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Beckenham, October 7th, 1793.

My dear Lord Henry,—I went to town to-day for the last sitting to Lawrence for the picture, which is at last finished, for Christ Church Hall. It is said to be well done. I found London very empty,—all the Ministers out of town, and the Under-Secretaries of State in attendance. A messenger had arrived from Austria; and it appears, by my brother's despatches, that the Emperor, on receiving the news from Toulon,

Hosted by Google

took an immediate occasion to order 5000 troops to be sent to our aid from the Milanese. I think this very material. All reasonings in this age are subject to disappointment; but Jacobinism is certainly more likely to receive its death-wound in the South of France than in Flanders or on the Rhine. The answer by the same conveyance relative to our friend Fagel's business is amicable and equitable. Lord Elgin is on his way home, having asked a leave of absence: I do not know why. Lord Yarmouth's mission is oddly circumstanced by the sudden departure of his Prussian Majesty for Berlin. Good accounts are expected from Maubeuge. I fear the Weissenburg business goes forward heavily.

We are all well here, and the season is very fine; and we are adding much to the pleasurable circumstances of this retreat, as I hope you will some day see.

The interior of this country is in very good honour, and its commerce and manufactures and revenue are again doing well. Both Mr. Pitt and Mr. Rose passed days here last week at different times; but I am unable to say yet whether Parliament will meet before Christmas. I hope not.

The Chancellor speaks to me in high terms of the good style, propriety, and right judgment of your despatches; and his taste in that respect is very good.

I continue to ride every day with the girls.

I am, my dear Lord Henry, yours very affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

I understand that the French have sent 15,000 additional troops into Brabant.

Sir Gilbert Elliot sets out for Toulon on the 11th.

Mr. Craufurd to Lord Auckland.

Brussels, October 8th, 1793.

My Lord,—I had the honour to receive your Lordship's letters of the 12th, 20th, and 23rd September,

Hosted by Google

while under a very violent fever, but from which, I thank God, I am now recovering. The letter for Madame de Balleroy was safely delivered; and the one for Madame de Pollastron, with the twenty-five Louis that accompanied it, M. de Fersen undertook to forward to her. The attack of Maubeuge now occupies all our attention here, nor can it be thought of without a considerable degree of anxiety. It is supposed that the grand attack will be made to-morrow or Thursday. The entrenched camp is naturally very strong, and is defended by 100 pieces of cannon disposed in redoubts which are said to be constructed with infinite skill. The number of men in the town and camp is said to be 14,000. Drouet, Commissary from the Convention and formerly Master of the Post at St. Menhould, who caused the King to be arrested at Varennes *, in endeavouring to escape from the town under an escort of dragoons, was taken, has been conducted to this place, and is to be sent to Luxembourg. I beg of your Lordship to do me the honour to present my best respects to Lady Auckland, and to believe me, with sincere esteem and attachment,

Your Lordship's most faithful and obliged, humble servant,

QU. CRAUFURD.

May I beg of your Lordship to have the goodness to forward the enclosed letter to M. de Jarry.

Lord Henry Spencer to Lord Auckland.

Stockholm, October 8th, 1793.

My dear Lord,—You have already perceived from my letters that I am got into a strange kind of place. In fact it is so bad, that without wishing to *tergiverser*, and with a steady resolution to make the best of it, I cannot help asking myself sometimes to what end I

* There will be found at the end of this Volume an interesting account of the flight to Varennes.

Hosted by Google

am sacrificing a valuable part of my life. I am precluded by the climate from seeing the country, by etiquette from becoming acquainted with the inhabitants, and by the want of materials from making myself in any way useful to my employers. On the other hand, I am in danger of losing not only all habits of business, but all the common forms of good breeding, for want of an opportunity to put them in practice. Dining, sleeping, reading, and sitting at home are all very good in their way, but a man may enjoy these pleasures without going two thousand miles for them.

In short, my dear Lord, people who stay here any length of time must necessarily be converted into swine, though not in so pleasant a way as the companions of Ulysses. To a man naturally shy and indolent, every day passed at Stockholm must operate as a slow poison, and at the end of his residence he will have to begin the world over again.

You will not be surprised, after this account, that I should be anxious to get away as soon as possible. You mentioned January or February in your former letters, but I do not think of asking leave before March, unless you encourage me to do so. I should be very desirous to go on to Petersburg in the spring, and to make a pretty extensive tour. The interval till then will be a complete blank in my life, and it will certainly be the greatest diplomatic sacrifice I have made.

I am not at all surprised at Lady A——'s evasion, and indeed I know that it was her intention for some time past, and that with a *naïveté* which you seem to have done justice to, she mentioned her design to her mother.

I am now going to write to thank my father for his civilities to the Greffier.

Believe me ever, my dear Lord, most sincerely yours,

H. SPENCER.

Hosted by Google

Mr. Craufurd to Lord Auckland.

Brussels, October 11th, 1793.

My Lord,—I had the honour to write to your Lordship a few lines on the 8th. Preparations are making at the palace for the reception of the Emperor and Empress, who are expected here about the 20th of this month. By the last accounts from Maubeuge, the attack was not yet begun; the enterprise is found to be more difficult than had been expected, and such as to induce the besiegers to proceed with greater force than they had at first proposed. The prisoners and deserters say that there are about 13,000 men in the town and entrenched camp. In the course of this campaign certainly much valuable time has been lost, but what is chiefly to be regretted is the separation of the armies. Had they remained together, probably Maubeuge, Landrecy and Avesne would now have been taken, and the armies perhaps on their march to the attack of Dunkirk and Bergue, which, according to the opinion of military men, could not probably have resisted them above ten or twelve days.

I have the honour to be, with great truth and regard, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and obliged, humble servant,

QU. CRAUFURD.

Lord Loughborough to Lord Auckland.

October 13th, 1793.

My dear Lord,—I have a great disposition, from the little I saw of your correspondent*, to like him very much, and to applaud the firmness and manly resolution of his character. His judgment may also, I believe, be very good where it can be coolly exerted, but I think the very letter he writes to you affords a

* Probably Lord Fitzgibbon.

Hosted by Google

strong proof that his mind is liable to be governed by strong prejudices. That he should think of three-fourths of the kingdom* as composing only a Popish faction, and consider their protection in no respect as an object of the care of Government, but as an encouragement to a party, does not give me a very favourable idea of the temper with which he would govern. That there are many Papists and Protestants also who would follow the example of France (if it promised success) in the destruction of property and order I have no doubt; but I think the best way to diminish their influence is to unite men of all persuasions in the defence of both by securing to them the enjoyment of the benefits of Government.

I am not so easily convinced that the late insurrections were the immediate effect of any settled plan; and from the impossibility of obtaining from any of the wretches who have been convicted any discovery of the persons who incited them, I should be apt to conclude that there was nothing to be discovered, but that from occasional circumstances, aided by a disposition to riot which prevails too much at all times in Ireland, and a little inflamed by the general discourse of the times, the late disturbances had broke out without much concert or plan. I had great doubt of the discretion of the measure to stop the supposed convention by a positive law, which in truth enacted nothing. It had the bad effect of ending the session with ill humour; and, I fancy, had the projectors of a convention been daring enough to form one in defiance of the common law, they would not have been deterred by this act.

Aust has seen a paper from Paris of the 8th, which gives an account that the Convention, on the 7th, having received letters from the camp before Lyons, dated the 3rd, were so provoked to find their expectations deceived by a late favourable account, that they have recalled their commissary and gene-

* Of Ireland.

Hosted by Google

rals. There is also a report credited that an offer was made from Maubeuge to surrender on the troops being permitted to retire into France, which the Prince of Coburg rejected. The other news are not very important. Naples and Spain will each send more troops to Toulon with all expedition; and Sir Robert Boyd had 1200 ready to embark the moment he received the requisition from Lord Hood, which had not arrived at Gibraltar on the 12th of September.

I ever am, my dear Lord, yours sincerely,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Vienna, October 16th, 1793.

My dear Brother,—I wrote to you on Saturday last by Brooks, and now avail myself of a messenger that M. de Thugut is despatching to London to inform you that the Emperor's journey is further put off to the 15th of next month, when I am positively assured that it will certainly take place.

The delay is occasioned by the Emperor's wishing to have the inauguration over before his arrival, and this is necessarily deferred till the Assembly of the States is terminated. This has been protracted infinitely beyond what was given to expect. Their conduct is certainly not conciliatory, not to make use of a harsher expression; they refuse to grant the arrears, pretending that the insurrection was lawful. Government thinks it wiser to give way than at this moment to insist on a demand, however unequivocally just it may be deemed.

All is safe at Toulon. This country gives *us* 5000 men for the defence of the place, but will not allow them to be employed offensively to make conquests for the King of Sardinia, unless that sovereign will (if any be made) yield them, though in a very inferior proportion, something in return for the share of this Court in the Novarese. This is the measure

Hosted by Google

with which we wish to mete to them in Holland, and ought, it is said, to hold good in the South.

I am surprised that we do not rather send some reinforcement to the Vendée, which is so much *nearer Paris;* and it is against Paris that this Court wishes to concentrate all our force. Provence is too distant, and the opposition from the Protestants in Languedoc will be very great; but if it be deemed absolutely necessary to have a large army there, some cession from the King of Sardinia to this country does not appear to me to be of an object of sufficient importance to prevent it, if this Court will not otherwise grant the reinforcement required of them. The 8200 men now in Piedmont they leave to the King's absolute disposal. The Neapolitans are sending 1000 cavalry to Toulon.

Adieu, my dear brother. I am not a little impatient to hear from Lord G. in answer to my late voluminous despatches. If you hear anything of them, and an opportunity occurs, I will be much obliged to you to give me your opinion on the several points.

Again adieu. Every good wish from Elizabeth and myself to Lady Auckland.

Ever your obliged and affectionate brother,

M. EDEN.

The King of Prussia asks a subsidy of us. The conduct of those who surround him excites my bile.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Beckenham, October 17th, 1793.

My dear Lord Henry,—Your letter of the 29th September gave us rather a melancholy pleasure. We were amused by your account of your tête-à-tête dinners, and of the other symptoms of Swedish sociability; but we were concerned to think of the dull prospect which you have in view. It cannot be said that you will vegetate through the next three months' frost, but you

Hosted by Google

will have a sort of frozen existence, somewhat like that of a bat or a fly behind a window-shutter. You will benefit by it hereafter. Everything is by comparison in this world; and the month of December which I passed on the Atlantic in 1778 has been to me a source of happiness ever since. After all, you must not remain where you are; amuse yourself and inform yourself as well as you can. I am not without hopes that you may be called to some new scene very soon: I wish even that it were at Berlin, if it would give you rank in the line. At any rate, you must have a leave of absence in the beginning of the new year; and so no more at present.

I am not in good spirits this evening. My old and very worthy friend John Hunter died yesterday suddenly.*

Sir Gilbert Elliot† dined with us to-day in his way to Dover. He embarks to-morrow, and expects to arrive at Toulon about the 15th of November.

The Marquis de Bouillé‡ passed the day with us yesterday: I forget whether you knew him. He appears to expect further successes for the united army if this fine weather lasts, and, at any rate, has no anxiety respecting our position on the borders of Flanders during the winter; but he expects another campaign.

The Emperor is expected immediately at Brussels. He has desired my brother to accompany him. Lord Elgin is at present in London.

I am not sorry that you seem disposed to reject the offer of my 1000*l.*; for, though I could easily do without it, I shall as easily find an immediate use for it, if I succeed in purchasing, as I at present expect, Sir George Jackson's house in Palace Yard. It is the particular and precise house that I wish to have,

* In the council-room of St. George's Hospital.

† Sir Gilbert's conversation with the Count de Mercy took place after the siege of Dunkirk. Sir Gilbert proceeded to Toulon through the continent, and must have seen the Count at Brussels.

‡ Commander of the troops in the flight to Varennes.

Hosted by Google

and I have had a negotiation of more than nine months for it. It is close to the House of Lords; and near to the public offices, and to Mr. Pitt's, to my brother's, the Burrells, the Hatsells, the Roses, &c., but, above all, it leaves no pavement between us and Lambeth, nor between us and Beckenham.

Lady Auckland and the ten children are all as well as possible. Charles begins to talk intelligibly; Louisa is an universal favourite.

The *sans culottes* threaten us with an invasion. That threat gives no uneasiness, but may induce some small precautions. It will not, however, prevent the great expedition which is sailing to the West Indies.

Our compliments to Mr. Garlike.

Believe me, my dear Lord Henry, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Hosted by Google

CHAP. XXIX.

Failure of the Attack at Maubeuge.—Inefficiency of the Prince of Coburg.—Lord Auckland remonstrates against the West India Expedition. — Lord Grenville's Hopes. — Lord Malmesbury's Mission. — Wounded Feelings of Mr. George Rose.—Obstinacy of the Dutch.—Uncivilised Proceedings at Stockholm. — Letter of Gibbon. — Desire of the Sardinian Government to prevent an Agreement between Austria and England.

Mr. Craufurd to Lord Auckland.

Brussels, October 18th, 1793.

My Lord,—I had the honour to write to your Lordship a few lines on the 8th, and again on the 11th. Sorry am I now to observe that the anxiety I expressed about the success of the attack on Maubeuge was but too well founded. The enterprise had been so long delayed, that the enemy was left sufficient time to render their entrenched camp a fortress. About two months ago it might have been taken in two or three days, probably at once; now it was thought necessary to attack it with regular approaches. The number of men in the camp and town, which communicate, was certainly from 18,000 to 20,000. Advice was received that the enemy was assembling* in great force towards Guise, with the avowed intention of attacking the covering army commanded by M. de Clairfayt. It was reinforced; and the troops left before Maubeuge, consisting of the Dutch under the hereditary Prince of Orange, and about 14,000 Austrians, were but barely sufficient to continue the blockade. M. de Clairfayt advanced a little towards

* Under Jourdan.

Hosted by Google

Avesne. On the 15th the enemy came out of the woods and attacked him; but after a pretty long and severe contest, they were completely repulsed with the loss of eight pieces of cannon. The Austrians had about 400 men killed, and amongst these several officers. On the 16th, in the morning, the enemy marched out with their whole force, consisting, it is said, of near 80,000 men; Clairfayt was drawn up to receive them with about 25,000, but the ground was so broken and intersected with *ravines*, that not a horseman could act, so that the great advantage to be drawn from the Austrian cavalry was entirely lost. The action began at half-past ten in the morning, and lasted till evening, when the left wing of the Austrians being overpowered by numbers, and almost turned, Clairfayt retreated, leaving about 2000 men upon the field.

The retreat was conducted in the most perfect order; not a gun was left behind, nor did the enemy attempt to follow him. He crossed the Sambre, and the siege of Maubeuge was raised. I understand that the Austrian army was yesterday in the neighbourhood of Buvigny. Perhaps much might yet be done, and this check almost immediately obliterated by some very brilliant success; but when we look back on the campaign since about the middle of April last, I confess that I think nothing of this kind is to be expected. Some military men, who are thought to be good judges, say that the Prince of Coburg should immediately march to a position they point out between Cambray and Landrecy; that he would there cut off the communication between the French army and almost all their garrisons, and thereby probably oblige it to come and give him battle in an open country. Probably Jarry will be able to give information on this subject. His opinions are very much respected here, but I believe never followed. In the midst of this misfortune I am happy to congratulate your Lordship on the success against the lines of

Hosted by Google

Weissenburg, and have the honour to be, with sincere attachment,

Your Lordship's most faithful and obliged humble servant,

QU. CRAUFURD.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Hugh Elliot.

October 20th, 1793.

My dear Elliot,—In a quarter where I had the honour of an audience yesterday to a very late hour, there was much badinage on the subject of your democracy*, but it was in a tone of so much graciousness and good disposition towards you that you would have been gratified by hearing it. I asserted very roundly that the imputation respecting you had no just ground, and that if you had ever given encouragement to it, it must have been a badinage on your part:—at least that when I saw you lately during some weeks on a republican soil, I saw nothing that did not evince a warm attachment to the constitutional monarchy of your own country. I should add, that I never saw the personage† in question in better health in all respects. All well. No news.

Yours affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Tunbridge Wells, October 25th, 1793.

I acknowledge you have been very good in sending certain pieces of news which were very acceptable in these portentous times. I was scarce ever more anxious. The defeat of Clairfayt, with the raising of the siege of Maubeuge, annoys me very much. Unless some great event happens, we seem to have no chance of quarters in Flanders. Some here even

* Mr. Hugh Elliot, when in Paris in 1790, had much intercourse with the leaders of the French Revolution.

† The King.

Hosted by Google

think Valenciennes hardly safe. It seems to me to be too late to expect anything from counter-revolution at Brest. The death of the Queen* elevates me to such a pitch that I am equal to conflagration, murder, &c. I wish it were in my power to burn everything combustible and overturn every stone at Paris. I have never been as sanguine in the affairs of Toulon as others are. I wish I had the means of sending you any information. We have nobody here. The ci-devant Chancellor† has quitted the sea-coast. Among other instances of his not being *perfectly content*, I was entertained with hearing he had observed in company how infinitely more proper it would have been to have sent me to Toulon instead of Sir Gilbert. I totally disagree with him; moreover, it would have been extremely difficult to have persuaded me to go. I find, however, he does not approve of a late measure of mine, viz., the expulsion of Serjeant Kemp from the chair.

I am glad you can give such good reasons for being content with your farm. It was a slight idea of it, I confess, that caused me to think ill of it. Another ram will be at the Greyhound at Croydon on Saturday, viz., to-morrow, where he will wait till sent for. If the archbishop's family is still with you, pray present my very best compliments.

Ever most faithfully yours,

SHEFFIELD.

Mr. Craufurd to Lord Auckland.

Brussels, October 29th, 1793.

My Lord,—I had the honour to write to your Lordship on the 22nd. All the enquiries I have since made tend to confirm what I then communicated to you with regard to what passed on the 15th and 16th. A very respectable man of the corps of engineers, who came here a few days ago from the army, men-

* On the 16th of October. † Lord Thurlow.

Hosted by Google

tioned a circumstance, which is indeed very extraordinary. He said that when the Prince of Coburg arrived before Maubeuge, he ordered the chief and principal engineers to examine the entrenched camp, and make their report upon it. After having carefully inspected every part of it, they reported that, as it had no covered way, &c., they were of opinion it might be taken immediately, but that if it was defended with tolerable skill and resolution, it would probably cost the lives of a considerable number of men; that if the Prince of Coburg would allow five days to bombard it and dismount the enemy's artillery, they would engage in that time to put it out of a state of defence. The only reason that can be assigned for his not complying with this proposal must be the apprehension of being attacked; the same apprehension probably prevented him from ever bringing his heavy artillery across the Sambre. But had he been well informed of the motions of the enemy, as it was certainly in his power to have been, he would have known that their force could not be assembled so as to put them in a condition to attack the army of M. de Clairfayt with any prospect of advantage for at least a fortnight. M. de Mercy affects, in public, in some sort to excuse his retreat; perhaps he may have written in the same strain to M. de Stahremberg, but I believe his private sentiments are very different, and are indeed but conformable to those of almost every officer in the army.

The Prince of Coburg is, beyond a doubt, a perfectly honourable and well-meaning man; but, according to the opinion of all who know him, he is totally destitute of those talents and that energy that were necessary for the important situation to which he was named. While Mack was with him, he was Mack; but since Mack left him, he is the Prince of H.*, or Frossard, or anybody. I know nothing more distressing than to look back on all that has passed

The Prince of Hohenlohe.

Hosted by Google

since the middle of last April,—to reflect on what was fairly possible to have been done, and compare that with the state of things at present.

M. de Mercy, who, I believe, never approved of the idea of a congress, I understand wished very much that a person had been appointed on the part of England, with powers in some degree similar to his own. He thought that they might, together, have watched over the execution of a plan of campaign,—if necessary, have given, by their remonstrances, activity to the operations; and that the Minister of England might have made representations that he could have transmitted to his Court, and even acquiesced in, but which, notwithstanding the confidence the Emperor is pleased to place in him, he perhaps could not have made himself singly.

It is reported, and, I believe, from good authority, that the French have resolved to bring the whole of their force that is now in Alsace and Lorraine, except the garrisons, to this frontier. Barrère said, in the *Comité de Salut Public*, that Alsace and Lorraine must be reconquered in the Low Countries and in Holland; and Anacharsis Cloots writes to one of his correspondents here, that he makes no doubt, unless the elements should prevent it or their generals prove traitors, that ere the end of the month of April the standard of the republic will be erected at Cologne. The Government here is certainly alarmed, but as it is thought that they have nothing to apprehend from the present spirit of the inhabitants, they have resolved to arm 15,000 in West Flanders for the defence of that frontier, and arms have been sent thither accordingly. The Government is to appoint officers to form and discipline them, and the inspection or command of the whole is to be given to a M. d'Aspre, an officer of reputation.

M. de Mercy tells me that though no official communication was ever made of the Emperor's intention of coming here, the measure was certainly resolved upon, and that though some imagine that the late

Hosted by Google

events may induce his ministers to persuade him to defer his journey, he thinks, on the contrary, that they ought to hasten it. His presence is certainly extremely desired, both by the army and the people. The States meet to-day, and, it is said, in a much better disposition than they were in when they separated; but I understand that they propose to give the Emperor a million of florins to indemnify those who were plundered and lost their property during the revolution; and, knowing that the sum is inadequate to the purpose, they think that the Emperor will either be obliged to make up the difference, or that the cry of the sufferers will be against the Government. They seem, as yet, as insensible to the danger with which they are threatened, as if France was at a thousand leagues' distance from them.

I have the honour to be, with great sincerity, your Lordship's most faithful and obliged,

QU. CRAUFURD.

I beg leave to trouble your Lordship with the accompanying letter to Jarry.

Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville.

(Private.) Beckenham, November 7th, 1793.

My dear Lord, — I enclose another letter from M. de Jarry, in which there are, no doubt, traces of good sense and observation, though of the gloomy kind. I incline to his opinion, that "our first and great object ought to be to destroy the Convention;" and it appears to me that if we are materially diverted from that object by the pursuit of conquests, whether on the continent of Europe or in the East or West Indies, we risk the fate of the whole war and of the existing race of mankind. May it be added, that we do this in pursuit of acquisitions which we might have without effort or expense? for it is in Europe only that the successes of the allied armies, and the commanding superiority of our naval force, can

Hosted by Google

enable us to compel the French nation to such conditions and sacrifice as may be thought necessary for our future safety and tranquillity.

I beg leave to pursue this idea a little farther. If we can get possession of the Isles de Bourbon and St. Maurice, I presume it must be by a mode of operation which will draw nothing from the small disposable part of our European troops.

This is not the case with respect to West India conquests; and it is, therefore, impossible to look without anxiety to the regiments embarked or embarking for that part of the world. Not on account of the mortality to which they are exposed; such mortality may be justified as the inevitable result of an inevitable war, and we are to place in the opposite scale the immense importance of St. Domingo, Guadaloupe and Martinique, or of any one of them, if it can be doubted that they would not fall to us by pursuing the war successfully in Europe.

Nor is that anxiety excited by the French menaces of an invasion. I do not think it quite improbable that some desperate landing on our coasts may be attempted in the winter months; but we are not on that account to suspend the activity of the war, nor such expeditions as may show resource, invention, system, and a wise and efficient energy. If an invasion should be attempted, it may excite a momentary alarm; but we have, by sea and by land also (without laying too much stress on the militia), ample means to resist it, and there can be no doubt that it would end in the destruction of the invaders.

Again, that anxiety is not excited by the expediency of having the troops forthcoming, to quell attempts which may be made to produce explosions of Jacobinism within this country. I have apprehensions that there are many able and dangerous individuals on the watch to make such an explosion; and I see with concern that all the lower classes are more or less affected by the execrable doctrines of the day. But the main body of the kingdom is still

Hosted by Google

sound; and I trust that if such a crisis were to come forward, we should extricate ourselves without the use of red coats.

These remarks apply to Ireland as well as to England; and though the dangers both of external and internal Jacobinism merit serious attention, I do not think that they ought to preponderate against the plans adopted for the conduct of the war.

The anxiety which I feel turns upon the first principle stated in this letter: I mean the great importance of directing all our efforts to the destruction of the leaders of the Convention, who will with great complacency see us occupied in the sugar islands.

We have recently experienced the essential benefit of a disposable body of troops. Without detracting from the Duke of York's late march and measures for the relief of Flanders, which do infinite credit to his Royal Highness, I conceive that he would have been foiled, and perhaps that neither Nieuport, nor Ostend, nor any part of Flanders would have been saved, if we had not had a disposable body of troops, and if his Majesty's ministers had not sent those troops with the same promptitude which, last February, saved Holland and the continent of Europe.

It may further demand consideration whether the corps in question may not be sent with decisive advantage either immediately or some time hence to the Isle Noirmoutier, Isle Dieu, les Sables d'Olonne, or some other station within the Bay of Biscay.

It is also possible that those regiments may again be wanted in Flanders; perhaps, too, it may become expedient to send a part of them to the Mediterranean.

Though I write this to your Lordship, I do not even talk on the subject to any other person. I have not mentioned it except to one friend*, who is in the confidence of Government. From delicacy to Mr. Pitt, I have not plagued him with it, because I appre-

* Mr. George Rose.

Hosted by Google

hend that the measure is decided, and it may have been influenced by circumstances (and also by engagements) unknown to me. Besides, if the reasons *pro* and *con.* are in any degree equally balanced, I am willing to admit that the appearance of steadiness of plan is material to be maintained, and that a measure adopted and known ought not to be renounced except on new circumstances evidently prevalent and intelligible to the world.

I am, my dear Lord, ever respectfully and sincerely yours,

AUCKLAND.

Mr. George Rose to Lord Auckland.

(Most private.)

My dear Lord,—On the subject of the war on the Flemish frontier, I am sure M. Bouillé's opinion is correct,—that unless Mack can be brought back, and the Prince of Hohenlohe is disposed of, things will not go well; but it cannot be wise to discredit the Prince of Coburg, and your friend M. de Stahremberg should be more prudent.

I had written thus far before the post came in.

I agree with your Lordship in every syllable you say to Lord Grenville, except the doubt you express in the last paragraph about giving up the expedition. *No considerations* should induce me to sacrifice the *existence* of the country to appearances. You have expressed all I think most incomparably well, and it is fortunately timed. Mr. Pitt is to see Lord Grenville to-day, when the fate of the expedition will probably be finally settled. Mr. Pitt knows I was with you on Wednesday, and will be sure we talked the matter over, because he heard the same reason urged by me some time ago. But that can do no possible harm; he is confident that we both mean him and the country well, though he may suppose our opinions not well founded.

The payments to the 5th July are made.

We are in perfectly good time for the flower-roots.

Hosted by Google

Lord Hood's nose had taken an abominable twist when he sent away four serviceable ships to Brest and L'Orient, with 5000 seamen. The French have equipped the former, and manned their fleet with the latter. It is assuredly the oddest mixture of folly and madness *we* have yet been guilty of. His Lordship used to say to me here it would be a good thing to send back all the prisoners in this country, as he was sure they came on purpose to plague us; but I never considered him serious, and treated it as a levity.

"While Howe shuns a meeting,
Advancing, retreating,
Hood beats his competitor hollow;
Straightforward he goes,
Still follows his nose:
Oh! that Howe had a nose he could follow."

Ever yours truly,
GEORGE ROSE.

P.S.—I fear your concluding sentence, which I quarrel with, in a great measure does away the effect of your letter to Lord Grenville; and I fear the expedition goes.

Lord Hood vindicates the measure of sending away the men by saying he was afraid of the safety of the place.

Tom Erskine boasts at consultations that there are 150,000 French before Toulon. *to his certain knowledge.*

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

November 11th, 1793.

My dear Lord,—I have been prevented by other business from acknowledging your two letters of the 5th instant.

I am in daily expectation of Lord St. Helens'* arrival, and I apprehend that as soon as he comes it will be right to announce his nomination to the Em-

* Lord St. Helens succeeded Lord Auckland at the Hague.

Hosted by Google

bassy at the Hague, as indeed his proceeding to his post there seems to be not a little pressing. I trust that his setting out for Holland will follow his landing here at no very great interval of time. There is an appearance of a beginning of despondency at the Hague, the effects of which may be very pernicious. It is true that the campaign has not answered all that one's wishes suggested, nor even all that at one period of the year it seemed reasonable to hope. But surely to have begun by the defence of the Moerdyck, and of Maestricht, and to end with the establishment of our winter quarters close to the French position, and in some parts within their territories, would in January last have been thought worth compounding for, even putting out of the question Mayence, and Alsace, and Toulon, each of them very considerable advantages in their different ways.

It seems to me that the abandonment of the West India* expedition would give an impression of alarm which would operate against us almost as much as the troops could do for us. No serious apprehension can exist for this country beyond a few buccaneering attempts at most, and in Flanders there is surely force enough to defend such a frontier in winter against anything that can be expected to come against it. Our troops may be harassed, it is true, and so might twice their number if they were there. But for substantial purposes of attack, I confess I have no fear that the French possess either the design or the means of acting this winter in the Low Countries.

Jarry's ideas of Bordeaux are upon too large a scale for us to engage in, especially with respect to a place which itself is, by his own account, not defensible but by a large army. I could wish to have his ideas of Belleisle, Noirmoutier, St. Malo, and Havre, on the supposition of a smaller force than he supposed necessary for Bordeaux.

* England being disappointed at Dunkirk, now sought an indemnity in the West Indies.

Hosted by Google

Do I flatter myself with the hope of what I so strongly wish, or does it strike you as it does me, that every fresh account from France brings decisive proofs that the system is drawing to its close, and cannot longer support itself? Consider only the violent and continued effort which the interior requires, and it is surely not being too sanguine to pronounce that this is incompatible with the maintenance of their external defence. I look upon the sort of calm which the winter may give as beneficial to us.

Ever, my dear Lord, most truly yours,

GRENVILLE.

Lord Malmesbury, who had left Mr. Pitt to follow the fortunes of Mr. Fox, had now left Mr. Fox to follow the fortunes of Mr. Pitt, therefore it was necessary to provide him with a foreign appointment; and, greatly to the disgust of Mr. George Rose, he was sent to Berlin, where young Mr. Rose was acting as chargé d'affaires.

Mr. George Rose to Lord Auckland.

(Most private.) Old Palace Yard, November 14th, 1793.

My dear Lord,—A messenger is arrived from Lord Yarmouth, who brings an account that the attempt on Landau has failed, and that the bombardment of that place is over. The Austrians and Prussians talked of winter quarters, while the French were taking measures for keeping the field. The Royalists are spreading themselves in strength in Calvados, the Mayenne, &c.

Philip Egalité is gone to the devil; he was certainly executed, on I know not what day, for I do not yet understand their calendar, and I hope it will be abolished before it becomes necessary to be acquainted with it.

Lord Malmesbury is going on an extra mission to Berlin. I am sorry for it for many reasons; but I am

Hosted by Google

sure George, with a contempt for the man, will do his duty to the public by co-operating as far as he can with him.

Ever, my dear Lord, most cordially yours,

GEORGE ROSE.

The King yesterday spoke of George to Mr. Pitt in terms of the warmest approbation.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Vienna, November 16th, 1793.

My dear Brother,—The state of uncertainty in which I have for some time lived has occasioned the interruption in my correspondence; it still indeed continues, though we are in hourly expectation of its being brought to an end, and I fully trust to a satisfactory end. It will, I am confident, be a great means towards giving that vigour to our operations which alone can save us.

The very handsome testimony that your friends bear to my endeavours are truly flattering and satisfactory, and encourage me to the most unremitting perseverance. For myself, personally, I have scarce anything to desire, and if this accursed French fever were but at an end, I would most willingly either remain in the line, or descend to the most private station. Indeed, my chief view in life is the education and honourable establishment of my children. Mr. Bacon most fully answers my wishes, and my Fred daily improves under him.

My intimacy with my friend* daily increases, and the more I know him the more I admire the soundness of his judgment. What you desire† will, I believe, certainly be consented to by him.

What say you to your Dutch friends? who will neither consent to garrison the captured‡ towns, which

* M. Thugut. † The Dutch indemnity.
‡ Valenciennes, Condé, and Quesnoy.

Hosted by Google

would put them out of the way of the danger that they apprehend *, nor remain in the cordon if it be attacked. If I may credit Craufurd, their repeated losses were owing to their own strongheadedness in remaining scattered, against all advice, in small corps.

As to the conduct of the Prussians, I cannot give it too hard an epithet. They are like the Deal men, who avail themselves of the perilous situation of the passengers in a ship stranded on the Goodwins to drive a most unconscionable bargain. If the thrones of Europe are to be overturned (which must happen if the French are not subdued), that of Prussia, notwithstanding their security, will go the first. Our Windsor cousin † is on this subject come to himself, but I think him equally idly employed in his Palatine negotiation for troops, as I am persuaded that the elector and the rapacious crew around him will take our money, and not give us a tenth part of the men that are promised.

What think you of the great armament preparing in the South of France? My opinion is that Toulon only should be secured, and all the rest of our force be employed *en masse* in Flanders; or, at all events, that the Vendée should be succoured in preference to the south. Innumerable difficulties will arise. The distance from Paris is too great; the spirit, even in Dauphiné and Provence, is by no means good, and in Languedoc decidedly bad, the number of Protestants there being at least one-third, and those well armed, active, and enterprising, and irreconcileable since the massacre of Nismes. And lastly, from the Piedmontese nothing must be expected, notwithstanding Trevor's pompous promises; the dogs will not even stand in their inexpugnable hills. I pity poor De Vins. I would give a good deal to see you, if it were only for an hour.

* Of not getting any accession of territory if Austria established a new frontier.

† Lord Yarmouth.

Hosted by Google

Adieu, my dear brother. Elizabeth joins me in every kind wish to you, my sister, and your family. Believe me to be ever, with great truth,

Your obliged and affectionate brother,

MORTON EDEN.

Mack is ill in Moravia.

Lord Henry Spencer to Lord Auckland.

Stockholm, November 1st, 1793.

My dear Lord,—I am glad to find from you that Lord Loughborough, or anybody else, has taken the trouble to read one of my despatches, which I should have supposed had never been opened. There certainly is no place on the Continent where so little is done, and where the little that is done is so uninteresting to the rest of Europe. I have just finished a meagre despatch, the first these ten days, which I have had great difficulty in collecting.

To-day is the birthday of the young King*, and an opera is given on the occasion in a new theatre. No foreign minister, however, can go, because the boxes, which are in the hands of a person of the Court, have all been let out for the season to the natives. After the opera there is a grand ball, to which every person in the town is invited, except the foreign ministers. It is thus that we are proscribed and excluded from every species of amusement, and you cannot wonder that the *ton* which is given in so marked a manner by the Court should be followed by all ranks of people.

I have not said anything lately to you about Renard. You will perhaps wonder, after all that has passed, that I should determine to keep him with me for the short time (I hope a short time) that I have still to remain at this place. The fact is that the general run of servants here, as of everything else, is so very much below mediocrity, — they are so uni-

* Gustavus IV., born in 1777.

Hosted by Google

versally ignorant, impudent, drunken, and even dishonest, — that I had rather be cheated in a regular way by a man I know, than cheated, abused, and poisoned into the bargain by a stranger.

I hope Goddard has already paid the money, as I directed him, into the hands of your banker.

What does Lady Auckland say of my accounts of Stockholm? The blessing she bestowed upon me in the few lines she was so good as to write does not seem likely to be accomplished. We are endeavouring to make head a little against the natives with a diplomatic supper twice a week; but as it consists only of a few straggling men, of different ages, pursuits, and dispositions, *c'est fort peu de chose!*

Ever, my dear Lord, sincerely yours,

H. J. SPENCER.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Beckenham, November 19th, 1793.

My dear Lord Henry, — A few lines from this civilised side of Europe must be pleasant to you, though they only contain matters of small importance. I have received yours of the 1st instant, and see with concern the poor ideas of the Swedish Government, in showing so little attention or respect to the Corps Diplomatique; it is a branch of the various branches of infatuation which show themselves in these strange times in different ways.

According to the latest accounts from France (of the 11th), the royalists, far from being exterminated, were gaining new victories.

The project of renouncing the Christian religion and all public worship was avowed, and the new bishops, curés, &c., were abjuring their faith and their benefices, to save their heads from the guillotine. Bailly, Madame Roland, and various others had been executed. The system of rapine was going forwards to fill the treasure; in short, it is an awful time, and we must consider ourselves as at war with a nume-

Hosted by Google

rous nation of unchained devils, maddened by approaching famine into desperation. All possible energy will be necessary. That quality is supposed to be defective at the quarter where young Rose is engaged; and Lord Malmesbury has desired to go to rouse a better sense if possible. I do not envy him his commission.

We are all well here, and often talk about you.

Believe me, my dear Lord Henry, most affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Mr. Gibbon to Lord Auckland.

St. James's Street, No. 76, November 27th, 1793.

My dear Lord,—I should reproach myself with neglecting one of the best comforts of life, the enjoyment of instructive and agreeable society, did I not seek to visit Beckenham in my way to Sheffield Place. I must therefore ask whether it will suit with your other arrangements to receive me at dinner, either Tuesday, Wednesday, or Thursday next week, to keep me the next day, and to dismiss me the following morning after breakfast. I shall expect your commands, and in the meanwhile request that you would present my compliments to Lady Auckland, whom I revere as a second Eve—the mother of nations—though I am persuaded that she would not, like Eve, have eaten the apple.

I am, my dear Lord, most sincerely yours,

E. GIBBON.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Vienna, November 28th, 1793.

My dear Brother,—The Emperor's journey to the Low Countries is not yet announced, but I have good reason to believe that it will be so at the beginning of next week, and probably take place immediately

Hosted by Google

afterwards. If so, I shall have the pleasure of seeing you, though it will, probably, only be for a very few days. I most earnestly wish that M. de Thugut may have an opportunity of seeing Lord Grenville, since it will be the only method to remove the distrust that I am sorry to say prevails; — this distrust, I fear, will be increased by the recent discussion relative to the march of the troops for Toulon.

I sincerely wish Lord Malmesbury success, but I do not expect it; in short, the prospect becomes every day more gloomy, and if the affair of the Vendée fails, and which I must look upon as most essential, our task will become most difficult. Monsieur is going to Turin, probably to be near Toulon, and the Count d'Artois to the Vendée. He wished to stop at Anvers, and to have a safe conduct from his creditors, which has been declined.

Your obliged and affectionate brother,

MORTON EDEN.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Vienna, Sunday evening, December 8th, 1793.

Having occasion to send my old and faithful servant Louis Basset to London with a packet for the East India Company, transmitted to me overland, I cannot let him set out without troubling you with a few lines. You will probably know the point in discussion here, and as I cannot but suppose that you have free access to the official papers, I most earnestly request you to read my No. 70: it will explain the whole. This Court demurs as to fulfilling their promise, from the danger which threatens Italy, in consequence of the foolish and very humiliating business of Genoa. We insist upon it most peremptorily,—whether or no it will be executed, a few days will determine; at all events, *liberavi animam meam;* but as the merit of a minister depends on his success, I must be more particularly anxious as to the result,—not as to my place,

Hosted by Google

for though I believe it to be better than any other in the line, my happiness by no means depends upon it,—far from it, it lies in my family; but I must ever wish to give satisfaction to the King and your friends.

Trevor has certainly done much mischief. He is the instrument of the Piedmontese Government, who wish to prevent any union between us and this country. At one time he said that Toulon was in safety, and that the troops should march through Piedmont and join De Vins; at another, to co-operate with him by a descent at Nice; at another, to march by Leghorn, and never did he say that the passage by Genoa was refused; and I confess that I fully expected that our threats there were serious, and would have had their effect, which would have consequently opened a passage for them.

My friend* is out of humour, though I do not say it, and with reason; as, though the Emperor has granted assistance for the Vendée, we have neither told them our grounds nor plans, nor anything relative to the business of Genoa, nor yet what is meant at Toulon, nor the instructions of the knight at Sandy Hook. Pray write to me fully by Basset. Adieu.

The poor Duchess of Polignac died on Thursday.

* M. de Thugut.

Hosted by Google

CHAP. XXX.

State of Affairs in Toulon.—Meeting of Pitt and Gibbon at Beckenham. —Woodfall and George Rose.—Lord Sheffield on Army Discipline.—Signs of Civilisation at Stockholm.—Prussia refuses to carry on the War without a Subsidy.—Lord Auckland's Letter to the Grand Pensionary. demanding pecuniary Advances from Holland.—Mr. Craufurd's Account of the State of Affairs in the Netherlands.—Mack's Reception in Brussels and England.—The "March on Paris."

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Lambeth Palace, December 3rd, 1793.

My dear Lord Henry,—I left my lawn with great reluctance this morning for three days; but it had become necessary to arrange the details at my house in Palace Yard, and to attend a levée and a drawing-room. I shall stay here till Friday next, and shall probably write again to you that day, if I can learn anything worth mentioning.

We continue in the same eternal state of anxious expectation of news from Lord Howe. Nothing is yet heard. It is, however, believed that he has made some considerable capture, and has been hurried by the pursuit far westwards.

An account is received this morning of the taking of a French frigate by one of our frigates at the mouth of the Channel. Lord Moira's expedition sailed yesterday, but I presume only to Guernsey or Jersey.

I think I mentioned to you Lord Malmesbury's* jour-

* Lord Malmesbury was proceeding to Berlin to negotiate for the assistance of the Prussian army. Eventually he signed a treaty at the Hague, by the conditions of which an army of 62,000 Prussians was to join the allies in the Low Countries. 300,000*l.* was to be paid down and 50,000*l.* a month. Lord Malmesbury was completely duped in this

Hosted by Google

ney (without any public character) through Brussels and the Hague to Berlin. Do you recollect a cross-reading in the "Annual Register:" "Yesterday despatches were received from the Court of Berlin;" "If you don't put a large sum in a sartain place?"

Believe me, ever affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Capt. Sir Sidney Smith, R.N., to Lord Auckland.

Toulon, December 12th, 1793.

My dear Lord,—I wrote to you last from Smyrna* at a time when my health was in so bad a state that I doubted whether I should be able to undertake the navigation to this place in so small a vessel as the "Swallow" tender so late in the year. The sight of our convoy, which relieved us from the blockade we had so long experienced, gave us new spirits, which are an essential conducive of health; a supply of Madeira wine and bark cut the fever and ague short, and in a few days I found myself able to embark and execute the plan I had so long formed of making the passage quickly, at the same time that I was at liberty to go out of the direct route to examine the naval establishment which the Turks have in the Archipelago,—a thing I could not do if I was to attach myself to the homeward-bound convoy. Everybody considered it as too great an undertaking for a convalescent, and my brother-officers tempted me to remain with them by the offer of a passage in a comfortable cabin, with nothing to do or to think of but to take care of my health, which I look upon to be a very unwholesome occupation. My opinion was that the necessity of exertion, the satisfaction of em-

transaction; 1,200,000*l.* was paid by England, but not a Prussian soldier came to the assistance of the allies, and the King employed the money in subduing Poland.

* Sir Sidney Smith had been on a secret mission to Constantinople.

Hosted by Google

ployment towards my original object, and living in the open air, would be better for me, and it has answered my expectation, though the fatigue, anxiety, and exposure have been extreme. I performed Ulysses' long voyage in about as many days as the poets relate him to have been years, with the same species of vessel as to size and form, but our English rigging and management enabled us to resist bad weather, and proceed in spite of it. I have now made her over to Lord Hood, who, finding her calculated for the service of an advanced rowing guard at the head of the bay, has relieved me from the command, and appointed Lieutenant Hill to her. I hope this will satisfy the Admiralty that the sum expended in her purchase and equipment has not been ill laid out, even if they do not enter into the utility of the service she has already performed, in enabling me to fulfil my instructions, as well as saving the lives of so many good seamen from the infection of the plague and the persecution of those cut-throat villains the French republicans.

My having no answer from the Admiralty or Navy Board puts me in pain for the fate of the bills I drew on that account from Smyrna; they are accompanied by the regular vouchers required by the forms of office, and I have charged myself with the articles of naval stores, which are now made over by survey of the naval storekeeper here to the proper officer, so that they cannot complain of want of form in that respect; the only thing is, that having had no regular order for the original purchase as the groundwork of the proceeding, it will be necessary to procure an Admiralty order for it, or an order to dispense with that form, as usual for vessels employed on secret service. This I must beg of you most earnestly to enforce on Lord Chatham, as a requisition from the office from whence I derive my instructions, but which could not furnish me with a sufficient sum to equip a vessel. I wish it had been in my power to have gone up the Black Sea. Sir

Hosted by Google

Robert Ainslie can best explain why he threw cold water on the plan I had laid to make the Turks request me so to do at their expense; being cramped in that article has confined my observations to what was within my reach.

I begged of your Lordship to place 500*l.* in the hands of Mr. Christopher Cook, of the Navy Pay Office, Somerset Place. I shall not have occasion for the whole of this if the vessel is paid for by the Navy Board, and still less if I am not obliged to come home from hence, and will most faithfully return the balance that may remain in his hands when my expenses on the service I have been on shall have ceased by my being put into my own line again.

But I find, to my great surprise, that my volunteering the service of creating a coasting fleet from this arsenal is not accepted, though it is confessed such a force is wanted, and some awkward vessels found here are so employed; but their number is insufficient, and their size and form not such as would enable them to keep the sea: thus the shells thrown into our camp at Balagué lately, came coastwise from Marseilles under our sight without our being able to prevent it, since it is not safe to expose large ships near the shore or under the fire of batteries. The "Princess Royal" lay near three weeks against a two-gun battery without making any impression on the heap of sand of which it was formed, while every shot from the shore struck some part of her rigging or hull. At last the enemy found means to heat their shot; one came on board, and was thrown over into the water by means of a frying-pan, and she hauled off to avoid the fate of the Spanish floating batteries; which proves that line-of-battle ships are very useless machines in this war, now that there are no line-of-battle ships of the enemy to fight. I have bought my experience of the principle I advanced in a former letter, that *small* vessels with *heavy* artillery are the only species of force that can act to advantage on a coast, or co-operate with an

Hosted by Google

army. I now repeat it, and offer to prove my assertion, if the experience of Dunkirk can leave any doubt about it.

The advantages of such a force are, its trifling expense in comparison to larger ships; the facility of reparation and of renovation in case of total loss; the facility of movement on all occasions, even in *calms*, the ease with which they can find shelter behind those very rocks which would be the destruction of larger ships; the possibility of approaching the very beach for the purpose of disembarking or covering troops, the cannon of the off-side the vessel being landed with them as battering cannon; the advantage of finding naval stores of a proper size in every prize that can be picked up along shore. The only disadvantage I know of is the inconvenience and hardship of inhabiting and navigating a small vessel. A line-of-battle ship or a frigate is certainly a most comfortable castle in comparison; so much so that our gentlemen don't care to part with them, complaining grievously when the nature of the service here has obliged them to be exposed to the weather for a week in these temporary gun-boats: the idea of that service is discouraged, because the captains complain of the inconvenience of having their men detached from the ship on such service; indeed, it must be confessed that where they are a mere appendage to a fleet they are a great burthen to it, and not being fitted for the purpose of acting alone, they cannot exist at a distance from their ships. What I mean is a distinct establishment, like cutters or sloops of war, each vessel having two large boats belonging to it, so as to be able to supply itself with provisions and keep a station for any length of time. This force is easily created anywhere, as the coasters of every country I have seen are of the construction and size best adapted to the navigation of that particular coast; all the addition wanting is the artillery, warlike stores, and men. Tartans, settees, half-galleys, and such sort of vessels, swarm in the Mediterranean;

Hosted by Google

Lord Hood has some for the purpose of advice-vessels, which he finds useful. I have asked him to give me the command of them as a division. The Spaniards, who are most of them my old acquaintances, particularly Langara and my friend Gravina, would have no objection to allow their gun-boats to be under my command.

As another division, the King of Naples has also a force of that kind, and I have conversed much with General Acton, and convinced him of the utility of it, and of the advantage of its being under an officer accustomed to the sort of service, and who speaks the four languages necessary,—thus forming a brigade.

Lord Hood is very good to me, and hears me; but he was bred in a large ship, and despises all small ones as *force*. He advises me to go to England, and at once moor under the command of the Admiralty, from which "I have been taken" by my late mission. So I shall set out as soon as I have been here long enough to visit all the ports, and render myself *au fait* of the place and the work in hand, unless the threatened attack on the part of the enemy shall throw me into play at once.

Gravina desires me to stay, and offers me any command I please; but that is out of the question in foreign service. They are subject to sad misunderstandings at present for want of language, and from jealousies which nothing but constant intercourse, such as subsisted between Lord Mulgrave and him, could prevent. He speaks of his Lordship in terms of the highest esteem, and regrets his removal notwithstanding his respect for those who replaced him. The service, at first though arduous and hazardous from the small force they had under them, was much pleasanter and more satisfactory to the minds of the Toulonese than what we are reduced to now, acting entirely on the defensive, for want of sufficient force to act otherwise, I suppose.

We are building batteries and cannonading those

Hosted by Google

the enemy have raised against us all round us. The nature * of the ground is such round this extensive bay, that unless we possess and maintain every height and every point for fifteen miles in circumference, the enemy would be able to force the fleet to relinquish their anchorage. This obliges us to have a chain of detached posts, at such a distance from each other that they stand entirely on their own legs, without its being possible for assistance to be afforded in time in case the enemy should determine to force any one. Do not, therefore, be surprised to hear that they succeed in an attempt of that kind. The deserters from the enemy inform us preparations are making for a general attack in all quarters at once, and in this case they may make an impression somewhere, though I doubt whether they will succeed in scaling the town walls, since the disaffection of the people within has been found out, and the French cannoneers and national guards disarmed and removed from the ramparts.

This situation does not bid fair for a counter-revolution, or a cordial co-operation on the part of the French themselves towards their own benefit. It is to be hoped you have better prospects on your side, or from the heart of the country of which we know nothing, except that the guillotine is removed to Aix, and that the Marseillois had imprisoned a commissioner of the National Assembly, who is, however, released again. I wish I had a force to land between here and Marseilles, to cut off the communication of the republican army that is against Toulon, and keep that town in awe, so as to enable the well-affected people to make head against the blackguards.

I have not time to write to any one else by this conveyance, therefore I beg Lord Grenville may see this letter, and that you will account for me to my uncle; if you would enclose it to him, it would save me much writing by next conveyance, and enable me

* It appears from this report that the place was untenable.

Hosted by Google

to begin new matter. I understand the Turks have listened to the overtures of France, as I told you they would unless a force was sent there to *intimidate and protect* them; in that case we may dictate, otherwise we are considered as too far off. They paid much court to us when I was there, which was either consummate dissimulation or *amende honorable* for what they had done, and which was now coming out, while the news of the Toulon fleet's surrender rendered their project abortive. My idea was that they should put themselves into such a state of defence as to oppose both Russian fleets and French fleets at either end of their canal, and trust to that and us for their political existence, which was thus threatened from both sides; for it cannot be supposed but that the French would have made a revolt among the Greeks when once they were anchored around the Seraglio. Poland might have been a good ally to them, had circumstances allowed of her being supported in time.

Adieu. Your sincere friend and obliged humble servant,

W. SIDNEY SMITH.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Sheffield Place, December 17th, 1793.

I was just going to declare that we could not do without a fragment from you, when your letter arrived. I began to think you imagined I should be content with the intelligence that the Gibbon brought from Beckenham, and that it must satisfy me a long while. It is true that he was much pleased with his visit there, and the occurrence with the minister*, in a family way, was a great satisfaction to him. He gives a very good account of the ease and unministerial deportment of the great man. The comfortable detail you give of the lady and the ten is really more

* Mr. Pitt.

Hosted by Google

satisfactory and pleasing to us than any information whatever.

I find I am much more disturbed than you seem to be by the state of the poor miserable Vendée business. Affairs in Brittany seem to have failed, and I fear for ever, by the tardiness of our efforts and succour. I never desponded so much as I do now in respect to a party rising in France. Insurrection has so universally failed, that even despair is not likely to make another attempt.

I hope it is not true that O'Hara is taken, in a sally made from Toulon, although it has been the foolish and unsoldierlike practice for the chief in command of that place to risk such a disgrace.

Some letters I have received this day express doubt whether the Prussian victory over the French will turn out much better than Lord Howe's capture of the fleet. But I am rather sanguine as to some considerable advantages being gained in those parts.

Have you got a house in town?

Ever yours,

SHEFFIELD.

Is half a doe worth having at Beckenham?

Mr. Woodfall to Lord Auckland.

Salisbury Square, December 19th, 1793.

My Lord,—I have just received your favours, and am infinitely obliged to your kindness with regard to my application; but the nature of it seems to have been a little mistaken by your Lordship, as well as Mr. Rose, to whom I also thought it necessary to write upon the subject. I do not mean to ask for any pension or sinecure, but merely to beg that the Minister might be put in remembrance, that without any possible offence to any political party whatever, he might put an active man into an ostensible employ for the service of Government, and take advantage of those abilities which the world allow him pretty generally, at the moment when the public mouth is full of praise

Hosted by Google

so flattering to him, and so necessarily pleasant to the feelings of his friends. There are, we all well know who have lived so long in the midst of political warfare and political events as your Lordship and I have done, a variety of situations that call for service of the mind as well as body, and which Administration must wish for, but cannot always procure persons to fill who are properly qualified. Such are the places of Commissioners at the lower boards, judges under the new Police Bill, and a great variety of &c.

It may be objected to me that I was not bred five years to an attorney, but then I have served ten years' apprenticeship to learn the application of the penal statutes in practice, under that able and intelligent magistrate Sir John Fielding, and, for the largest part of the time, had the honour of being considered by him as his private counsel, and consulted in almost every difficult case. This fact, Mr. Bond, one of the best magistrates that ever sat in Bow Street, in point of experience, acuteness, and judgment, well knows. If I had been idle enough to imagine that I could have a chance of elbowing Mr. Rose out of those of his situations, which are not annexed to him for life, I should not have been surprised at his rebuffing my application; but I look at lower game, and wish to have my faculties exercised for the service of Government as much as for my own benefit. It may be objected that remuneration kept pace with exertion: I beg leave to deny the fact. I received the stipulated compensation; but so does a Welsh judge, and yet we see him converted into a Solicitor-General, and then by *gradation* an Attorney-General, a Puisne Judge, or a Chief Baron, if he is willing and capable to continue his services. In domestic life a faithful individual in a man's household is promoted in proportion as his claim is strengthened by continued exertion, and, if the family have the means, he is ultimately well provided for. I state these arguments not to tease your Lordship, but to show that my claim is not a new nor a frivolous one. Administra-

Hosted by Google

tion may, if they please, affect blindness to my pretensions, but it is my duty to clear away the mist of misconception; if, after doing so, I fail, I cannot have to blame myself for inattention to the interest of my young family; under that feeling, I have made up my mind to the mortification of disappointment, and shall steadily abide the worst.

I beg pardon for so long an intrusion on your Lordship's time, but I could scarcely avoid it on such an occasion. Mr. Tickell* was appointed a Commissioner of Stamps, through the liberality of the late Lord Guilford, for merely writing a single pamphlet, which certainly had great merit both in the thought and mode of execution. I have dedicated my life and all my powers to the public in general for five and twenty years, and the public have been generous enough to say that I have earned some reward. Unfortunately for me, the public have not the power or the opportunity to carry their liberality into execution.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's highly obliged and devoted servant,

W. WOODFALL.

Captain E. Cook, R.N., to Lord Auckland.

"Victory," Hieres Bay, December 20th, 1793.

My Lord,—I am just arrived at Hieres Bay, where the whole fleet are now lying, having quitted Toulon, burnt the arsenal and ten sail of the line, and brought one first-rate, two 74-gun ships, and four frigates. The retreat was determined on in consequence of Fort Mulgrave being taken by the enemy†, who never would have got possession of it had the Spaniards stood. The British repulsed them twice, and put these fellows again in possession; but it was

* Mr. Tickell was rewarded for writing "Anticipation" before the meeting of Parliament in 1778. In this work the speeches of the leaders of Opposition were exactly imitated.

† Under the direction of Bonaparte.

Hosted by Google

in vain, they fired upon those who attempted to stop them in their retreat. The retreat was capitally performed; but the Neapolitans are *infamous* indeed, —their officers, *to a man*, the rankest cowards that ever shouldered a musket. Sir S. Smith, who *alone* executed the burning of the arsenal, &c., &c., will inform your Lordship of all particulars. But, in justice to him, let me add, though I do not wish to reflect on any one, that nothing would have been done without he had been there,—it was every one's business, and of course no one's. I have no time to add further than that I am, my Lord,

Your most obliged and obedient humble servant,

E. Cook.

Sir Gilbert Elliot to Lord Auckland.

"Victory," Bay of Hieres, December 24th, 1793.

My dear Lord Auckland,—My correspondence with you begins at the wrong end. The "Gazette" will account for the date of this letter, and the accounts which have been sent to Government ever since my arrival will prevent any surprise at those which we now send. I am so entirely of your opinion, that the shortest and perhaps only good end to this war lies through France itself, and that the best ally we can have against France is France, that I confess I have seen the disappointment of the views opened at Toulon* with great concern, and if I do not express myself warmly on that point at present it is because I am by this time accustomed to the idea, never having had anything like hope since my arrival. As it is, there are many substantial grounds of comfort in the general aspect of affairs, as well as in the circumstances of this particular event.

The object originally proposed by the possession of Toulon is, I now flatter myself, attainable with greater ease by Lord Moira's expedition. The distresses of

* Toulon had been retaken by the French on December 19th.

Hosted by Google

the South of France, which must ultimately do the business, are not diminished by our evacuation of Toulon; on the contrary, they have now the famine and clamour of that populous place added to their former difficulties. The successful retreat of such a fleet and army, with refuge afforded to near 4000 of our Toulonese friends by the different squadrons, and finally the extinction of the *Toulon squadron* for a war or two to come, are all great points, and some of them, if our own national interests were alone concerned, possibly better than any other issue the Toulon enterprise could have.

The refugees on board our fleet, about 2500, seem to fall peculiarly under my charge. So much joy for escaping the evils of yesterday, and so much despair and misery when they think of to-morrow, never perhaps were collected together as are now floating in this bay. I shall see them safe on shore somewhere or other, probably at Leghorn, and find bread for the first six weeks. I must then wait for the orders of Government, which I trust will enable me to launch them with something short of absolute despair into the wide world, on which they are now cast, many of them, out of comfortable and pleasant homes of their own. If you can give a lift to this good work, it will be like the father of ten children.

Lord Hood thinks, and so do I, that I ought not to return to England without orders. Lord Hood is not without a secret hope of a second invitation by famine to plenty, and that our commission may still be wanted;—on that subject I am confident neither for nor against. But I think it too uncertain to keep me in this quarter of the world on my present footing. Corsica seems the only point at present within the scope of my commission. For this *three* commissioners are not wanted; and whatever relates to that object will probably be adjusted before the return of the messenger. I am, however, ready to do anything that is wished, desiring only to be as soon as possible sure of my destination, that I may join my family or

Hosted by Google

be joined by it without delay. I thank you with all my heart for your letters and enclosures, as I do my dear Eleanor for her kind letter, which I read the day after our arrival at this bay.

Sir Sidney Smith carries this line. He has had a great share in the catastrophe of this piece, as *he* and the "Gazette" will tell you. We could not have found a better incendiary. God bless you all twelve, and believe me ever, my dear Lord Auckland,

Yours most affectionately,

GILBERT ELLIOT.

Mr. George Rose to Lord Auckland.

Cuffnells, December 24th, 1793.

My dear Lord,—I trust at least that there is no bad news to be expected from Toulon. In a letter I received this morning from Mr. Pitt, he says, "There is a messenger from Toulon, but with no accounts later than the 22nd of November, and I believe with nothing material. I have not, however, seen the despatches." If O'Hara had been taken, Lady Auckland *must* admit we should have heard of repeated acclamations in the Convention, Jacobins, &c.

It is entertaining, as far as such a sensation can be felt in the midst of horrors, to see the Jacobins expelling members for proposing to attempt too much. Poor Anacharsis Cloots, the orator of the human race!

I am very sorry the Emperor has laid aside his journey to Brussels, because I think with you it would have been useful in many ways. Is it settled that old Lascy is to command? I am afraid his joints are stiff, but Mack is a host in himself.

I wish very much Woodfall would show you my two letters, and then you would be able to judge whether he met with a rebuff from me. I told him candidly, and with regret, that I did not see any probable means of serving him; to which he replied that a gentleman (Mr. Tickell) was made Com-

Hosted by Google

missioner of Stamps for one pamphlet, and that he had toiled many years in the service of the present Government. The truth is, he has for many years had 400*l.* a year for giving the speeches of Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan much more at length and better than he did those of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas; all which time, too, the politics of his paper* were very trimming. I did all I could for him in his late contest, but I could not desire Mr. Pitt to give him an employment such as he would take.

Every good wish attends you and yours, my dear Lord, from all here as well as myself. I shall never forget my obligations to you. I am most cordially and truly yours,

GEORGE ROSE.

Lord Henry Spencer to Lord Auckland.

Stockholm, December 24th, 1793.

My dear Lord, — I have received several letters from you since I wrote last, and lament that it has not been in my power to show my gratitude for them, by communicating anything worth knowing from the Eddystone Lighthouse. At present we are all in a state of surprise and alarm at the discovery of a plot which will probably make some noise in Europe. It was set on foot by Armfeldt†, in Italy, and was carried on at this place by a lady of the Court, Mlle. Rudenschold, formerly his mistress, and five or six other agents. There seems to be no doubt, that from a number of this lady's letters to her lover, which have been intercepted, a day was fixed for putting the D. ‡ out of the way, and for reinstating the late King's party. Nobody knows how far the plot extended, but we are now dancing and playing at

* Mr. Woodfall was now editor of "The Diary," which was unsuccessful.

† Baron d'Armfeldt, the friend of Gustavus III.

‡ Duke of Sudermania.

Hosted by Google

cards with people one day, and hearing of their being in prison the next.

Stockholm is much improved, not in morals, as you will judge, but in society and amusement. Though people continue to dine and sup by themselves, they begin to see one another a little in the intervals, and two or three of the most respectable families have agreed to give tea, cards, and dancing on fixed days, to which even the *corps* are admitted. As I have told you so much of the barbarity of the country, I think it but fair to mention any attempts that may be made at civilisation.

I am extremely gratified by your approbation of my plan of going to Petersburg in the beginning of March, and only hope that you will also approve of my wish to avoid returning to this wilderness, where pleasure and profit are equally out of the question. At present, I reckon that my case is *entirely in your hands*, and I do not mean to write to Lord G. on the subject.

The sun rises with us at one minute after nine, and sets at fifty-eight minutes after two, so that we have not quite six hours' light!

We have excellent driving in *traîneaux*, in which I am already a great adept.

Believe me, my dear Lord, sincerely yours,

H. J. SPENCER.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Sheffield Place, December 27th, 1793.

Alas! the capture of General O'Hara is but too true, yet he does not seem to be quite so much to blame as I first imagined. The indiscipline of our army is intolerable. In the other sorties, exactly the same bad conduct was exhibited. But we neglect our army both in peace and war, and never sufficiently encourage steady, strict officers. You will recollect I never had a very favourable opinion of the Toulon business. I could not conceive that an impression

Hosted by Google

could be made with advantage from thence. To keep it appeared to me a matter of great expense and difficulty, and it seemed to me that the immense fleet of English, Spaniards, &c., in the Mediterranean, cruising between Spain, Corsica, and the coast of Genoa, might completely block up the South of France. To be sure, I should like to conduct the French ships of war from Toulon to Gibraltar.

I heartily wish you were within my range, or that we were within a more moderate distance of Beckenham. Our Christmas party is somewhat deranged by the absence of Fred North, who is laid up with the gout in London, and by a feverish disposition in the Gibbon, who is confined to his room.

A gentleman who is just come here from Lausanne, reports nothing new in that quarter. The miserable troops of the King of Sardinia seem to be completely driven from Savoy. The accounts from Lyons are ten times worse than those given in the newspapers.

I am rather entertained with a letter from M. de Luc, of Geneva, which he desired might be shown to me as a man of great weight and importance. It recommends that all Englishmen should give a fourth, even a third, of their whole property towards the carrying on a war which is to avert the miseries of France.

I wish it may be possible to create a diversion in Brittany and Normandy. It seems the only part where we can reasonably expect to do anything. I shall rejoice indeed if Colonel Mack should return to the army. I never had an opinion of the Prince de Coburg.

With the very best remembrances to the lady, I am ever most faithfully yours,

SHEFFIELD.

Hosted by Google

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Sheffield Place, January 5th, 1794.

The Gibbon is better, but I am by no means without inquietude on his account. It is thought necessary that he* should go to London on Tuesday; probably I shall follow him shortly for two days, for I shall be impatient to see how he goes on.

The defeat of Wurmser seems to be the *comble de malheur*. I expect to hear of the *sans culottes* again at Mayence,—that the Duke of York must retire from Ghent,—perhaps that you may have an opportunity of going to Willemstad again, to encourage your old friend † there.

All we have done as yet is to make all France soldiers. Soldiers are troublesome things, especially when flushed with success, unless constantly employed. It will be found necessary (as there is now nothing for them to do, except a little matter towards a part of the Rhine, and towards a part of the Low Countries) to deposit as many as possible of them in England. I must endeavour to stop them in the weald of Sussex, before they reach Beckenham. In truth I never was more disturbed by the state of things. Will not the combination dissolve?

You would be all kicked out before the end of the session if there was a suitable man to put in the place of Mr. Pitt.

Ever yours,
SHEFFIELD.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

January 16th, 1794.

My dear Lord,—In the general indisposition which prevails in the House of Lords to come forward and take any active part, notwithstanding their almost

* Gibbon died on the 16th of January.
† Count Boeltzlaer.

Hosted by Google

unanimous zeal in the support of Government, I have found myself by one or two accidental circumstances disappointed of the persons I had in view to second the address, so that it is become necessary to fix on some Peer connected with Government. It has occurred to me that there might be points of view in which it might appear to you an occasion such as you would not dislike stepping forward in, and I should in that case have the advantage of knowing that what was said would assist the cause instead of embarrassing it. I propose this to you only in the case that you should see it in the same light, but certainly if you should it would be far more agreeable to me than the looking to any other person of the description I mention.

A more important subject is the consideration of the enclosed despatch from Eliot* enclosing a proposal from Hope. It is of a nature to frighten the Pensionary, and therefore his objection to it is of less importance than might at present appear. But the evident difficulty is that, supposing so strong a step taken, there is no *mind* of energy enough to execute the powers so given or taken. And yet something of the sort seems indispensable.

The question of Berlin co-operation all turns on money. If that (to a very large amount) could be found, it seems likely that we might have the effective support of 100,000 men under Mollendorff. Proposals are thrown out of paper-money to be issued on the credit of the confederacy, to remain as a charge on France, and it is to a scheme of this sort that Hope alludes when he speaks of what he calls the Pensionary's plan. Other ideas are that Great Britain and Holland should advance the money (which cannot be less than from fourteen to sixteen millions of crowns, or near two millions sterling, as I compute it) on the credit of such a reimbursement. The subject is full of difficulty, and yet something seems of absolute necessity to be done.

* The Hon William Elliot, now chargé d'affaires at the Hague.

Hosted by Google

Pray let me have your ideas upon the whole, as far as they occur to you, and in the mean time return Eliot's despatch, which nobody else has yet seen.

Ever, my dear Lord, most truly yours,

GRENVILLE.

Lord Auckland to the Grand Pensionary of Holland.

London, January 24th, 1794.

My dear Sir,—You will recollect that, before I left the Hague, I confided to you several considerations which led me to apprehend that we should not soon meet again, unless you should have it in your power to make your projected excursion to England. That excursion depends on the return of order and tranquillity to Europe, and is therefore perhaps not near at hand. I will not dwell on this subject further than to assure you that our separation is felt by me with deep regret; that I hope and trust we shall often awaken a right recollection of each other by an interchange of letters; and that the affectionate and respectful friendship which I have for you will not be impaired by any length of absence. His Majesty has signed my letters of recall. Lord St. Helens, who is (and deserves to be) particularly acceptable at the Hague, will be named to succeed me as soon as he arrives here; and he is immediately expected. Before I proceed to other subjects, let me add, that Lady Auckland (no more "l'Ambassadrice") desires to be most kindly mentioned to you. The hours which she gave to representation are now given to her nursery and school.

Our session of Parliament is begun. The late disappointments on the Continent have rather strengthened than shaken the support of Government, and the general disposition of this country to maintain the war with increased vigour and perseverance. It is fully felt and understood that if the combined powers were to lessen their exertions under the difficulties which have taken place, the Austrian Netherlands and

Hosted by Google

the United Provinces would soon be overrun by the hordes of civilised barbarians; and that the fate of Great Britain would follow that of the Continent.

You will recollect how well you prophesied this state of circumstances in a paper which you gave to me three years ago. The emergency and pressure are now become evident: adequate means of resistance must be found. If such means can be found, we may trust that our enemies (the enemies of the human race) will at least sink under the weight of their own unnatural and monstrous exertions.

According to the best calculations that I have seen, it is thought absolutely necessary for the common cause that there should be for the opening of the campaign an army of at least 300,000 men. If such an army cannot be brought into the field, the danger to every possession and to every consideration which can make human existence desirable, may become imminent and irresistible. In order to have such an army, we will suppose 100,000 men under the King of Prussia and General Mollendorff upon the Rhine; 140,000 under the Austrian generals; 40,000 under the Duke of York; and 20,000 under the Hereditary Prince of Orange.

It is, however (as you too well know), become impossible to have the Prussian quota unless the other powers will concur with the King in furnishing a sum amounting to not less than two millions sterling. The necessity of such a sacrifice is so strong and so urgent, that though I have not seen any particulars, I have reason to believe Lord Grenville* is transmitting to Berlin an assurance that, provided a sufficient exertion shall be made to send forward immediately, and to employ effectually, the number of men required, his Majesty will consult with the other powers as to the mode of furnishing the subsidy.

How such a sum is to be found is the consideration. England, though not less essentially interested in the

* This letter to the Grand Pensionary was written by Lord Auckland at the suggestion of Lord Grenville.

Hosted by Google

object, is less immediately interested than the other powers: and she is now, besides all the other subsidies which she exclusively pays, bearing the expense of eighty ships of the line, and of more than double that number of smaller vessels. I conceive, however, that Parliament might be induced to consent to charge this country with half (a million sterling) of the Prussian subsidy, provided that Holland would bear one quarter (500,000*l.*) and the Emperor and the empire the remaining quarter.

I write all this with little precision, as Mr. Eliot has transmitted to me some papers which show that the consideration is not new to you. I am aware of the difficulty to which such a proposition may expose the Government of the United Provinces; I know that you already consider the measure as difficult in the extreme. But I entreat you to turn the great energy of your mind and faculties towards it; to consult our friends in confidence; to prepare for it; and to suggest to me, without a moment's delay, any ideas that may facilitate it. If you can make it practicable, I conceive (but this will depend on the judgment of Lord Grenville, from whom the proposition will come) that whilst the troops are ordered to collect immediately under Mollendorff, a treaty should be signed between the Emperor, the King, and the United Provinces on the one part, and his Prussian Majesty on the other.

I know that some of our friends at Amsterdam, and also some at the Hague, will exclaim violently, "that they *cannot* find 500,000*l.*, that they can as soon give 500,000 drops of heart's blood." To which I answer, "that if they will not now give this small proportion of their wealth, they will soon give all that they have in the world, and their blood into the bargain."

It would be too preposterous for this nation to be charged with the whole; the very appearance would be an indecency. Neither the Parliament nor the country in general would easily be induced to tolerate such a proposition. But I think that the English

Hosted by Google

Government might and would facilitate to the Government of the Republic the means of alleviating the difficulty. The loan could be procured here for you on the same terms that we may borrow, perhaps as a part of the same transaction. The term of repayment might be postponed to your full convenience; and the whole sum might be mutually guaranteed by all parties to be charged or estimated on the eventual indemnities to be procured from France. You know that in the mean time the King's ministers have used every exertion to secure a just, certain, and satisfactory indemnity to the United Provinces (as the result of the greffier's negotiation),—that they have even postponed the Austrian connection for the sake of it,—and you will immediately hear that Austria has given way, and has in some degree referred the matter to be settled without delay, if possible, according to the King's wishes and advice. In truth, when the situation and relative risk of Holland are considered; when the pressure of the moment and of the circumstance is duly weighed; when you reflect that this is a contest *usque ad internecionem*, and that, though its fatal effects would extend to us all, they are most immediately pointed against the United Provinces; I cannot but think that you will find among your countrymen (of whose wisdom, bravery, and generosity in the day of danger history furnishes such brilliant instances) a sufficiency of public wisdom and of public virtue to do what is here suggested, and even much more if it were necessary.

Perhaps, exclusive of the pressure of the war, there are strong reasons of policy why such a measure on the part of the republic is worth much more than the sum proposed to be sacrificed. But I abstain from all arguments of that kind: if they are of any value, they will not escape your penetration, and you will best appreciate them.

Make a confidential use of what I have written, in such manner as you think best, both in respect to the Prince Stadhouder and her Royal Highness, and also

Hosted by Google

towards the greffier, the Comte de Welderen, and others of our friends with whom you communicate. I lament the not having a more acceptable occasion to call myself to your remembrance.

Above all things, attribute whatever disagreeable impression this letter may give to its just cause, the calamitous and perilous storm against which we are struggling. I have written nothing but what is dictated by the most friendly private sentiments, by the best public intentions, and by a deep conviction of its necessity.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Palace Yard, Jan. 24th, 1794.

My dear Lord Henry,—Our session has opened* as favourably as possible. It fell to my lot to second the address, and to state our advantages, difficulties, the necessity of redoubled vigour, and the ground of good hope as to the result. I was more frightened than I expected to be, but I was heard with indulgence, and with some degree of credit. The late reverses and disappointments have served rather to strengthen than to impair the support of Government. The House of Commons has not sat half an hour since the first day; and the House of Lords is adjourned to Monday next.

This day my brother's private secretary arrived with the news of the taking of Pondicherry; and the guns are now firing and the bells are ringing.

Colonel Mack is expected here in three or four days, to concert measures for the ensuing campaign. It is certain that the French, who were supposed to be advancing towards Mentz, are returned to winter quarters. There does not seem to be any immediate uneasiness in Flanders or Brabant. Lord Moira's expedition is, I believe, suspended.

In the smaller objects of conversation, the town is

* On the 21st of January.

Hosted by Google

occupied at present by the discovery that Prince Augustus and Lady Augusta Murray, under the names of Augustus Frederick and Augusta Murray, contrived to have their banns published at St. George's, Hanover Square, in November, and to have the marriage ceremony in December. The lady has since produced a son. The marriage is void, and subject to great punishment; but it is a vexatious incident.

We have had a few colds and fevers among our girls, but they are all now better.

Believe me, my dear Lord Henry, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Mr. Woodfall to Lord Auckland.

Salisbury Square, January 26th, 1794.

My Lord,—When a man's friends do not seem eager to serve him in the West, self-defence prompts him to endeavour to serve himself in the East; hence, Mr. Rose having turned his back upon me, though I admit he did it in a fair, open, manly way, I am compelled to shift as well as I can, and have, after a good deal of courtship, consented to be the editor of a parliamentary register, to be published periodically. I was present in the Lords during the debates on Tuesday and Thursday last, and mean to attend there on all important days during the session. The Commons I may occasionally visit; but the early hour of attendance necessary to secure a seat*, and the tedious length of their debates, encroach too much upon my time, and too greatly put my health to hazard, to induce me on any consideration to be a constant gallery member.

I heard your Lordship with great pleasure, and think your speech† was by far the most intelligent of any delivered on Tuesday, and gave at once a com-

* No privileges were then allowed to the "blackguard news-writers," as Mr. Abbott calls them.

† In seconding the address.

Hosted by Google

prehensive and complete picture of the events of the campaign. I do not think it has been done justice to, in any sort, in the reports given in the newspapers, and therefore should be proud to be the instrument of handing it to the public correctly. Can your Lordship recollect enough of it to throw it upon paper, and will you have the goodness to favour me with your minutes?

As I mean to put my name to the publication, I am highly desirous of making it as new, as original, and as distinct from every report as possible. I thought Lord Grenville made the best and least tiresome use of reference to papers and that sort of contrast, which Brissot's extraordinary pamphlet and his speeches to the Convention as chairman of the diplomatic committee furnish, that I ever listened to.

I shall thank your Lordship extremely for an early line in reply, and am, with the utmost respect and regard, your Lordship's obliged and obedient humble servant,

W. WOODFALL.

P.S.—Mr. Tyrrell, who was the successful candidate when I lately put up for the City re-membership, caught cold at the House of Commons last Tuesday, and is (most unfortunately for his family) dangerously ill of a fever.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Palace Yard, January 27th, 1794.

My dear Lord Henry,—The details of the session will begin to-morrow, after a four days' adjournment. The different interruptions of the day may put it out of my power to write, and therefore I scribble a few lines to you this evening. There is little news. A council sits both to-day and to-morrow, to examine the circumstances of Prince Augustus's intended marriage, and to make a report to the King. Lady Dunmore and others have been

Hosted by Google

examined: the parties were disguised at the ceremony, and the parson does not appear to have known them. The ceremony was on the 5th of December, and the lady was delivered of a boy on the 13th instant.

We are without foreign news; and, as a violent snow storm has prevailed during the last twenty-four hours, we are likely to continue so. It is the fashion to say that the French are going to make a great attack in Flanders, but I do not believe it. If they are able to make attacks, it was more natural for them to have pursued their advantages on the Rhine. There is no sea news, except that we have taken a French frigate off St. Domingo.

I am, my dear Lord Henry, yours affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Palace Yard, January 31st, 1794.

My dear Lord Henry,—I hardly know why I sit down to write, for I have little or nothing to say. I neither go out at present, nor admit visitors, having had the misfortune yesterday morning to lose my mother. She died suddenly, without a fit, without illness, pain, or even a struggle; precisely the death that I should wish to die, if it were not a severe shock to friends who care about it.

The two Houses are debating this evening—the House of Lords on Lord Stanhope's motion to address the King to suspend the transportation of Muir, a brother Jacobin; and the House of Commons on the subsidy treaties, in which it is the fashion to attack the money given to his Sardinian Majesty as ill-applied. I am sorry that little Planta is not in the House to explain that his Court has had unheard-of successes both in Nice and in Savoy.

Mr. Pitt is to bring the budget forward next week. He is abundantly supported; and, in truth, our home

Hosted by Google

prospects are perfectly good. I heartily wish that our continental speculations were equally clear and favourable.

Lady Auckland's best compliments.

Believe me, my dear Lord Henry, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Palace Yard, February 7th, 1794.

My dear Lord Henry,—This country has got an appearance of profound peace and tranquillity beyond anything that I ever remember at the opening of a session. The House of Lords has nothing to do, and the Chancellor* takes advantage of the quiet of the times to have a fit of the gout. The House of Commons meets and sits a few hours every day, but the debates are unanimated and uninteresting. The budget was opened on the 5th, and the loan of eleven millions sterling, and the operation of 900,000*l.* a year, new taxes, all went off as gently as if it had been a common turnpike bill; and the stocks have rather risen since. In the mean time the Jacobins at Paris threaten us with invasions, and call us a nation of cowards and slaves, and say that Mr. Pitt is a fool, and that we have no maritime strength, and that they are taking all our merchants' ships.

Lord Cornwallis is arrived full of riches and honour, and in a way to have everything further that he may wish. And now you talk of riches and honour, Lord Newborough's son is married to L'Avoine's maid, and the father says that nothing further is wanting to make him happy but an "air" to the good young man. It is said that Lady Euphemia Stuart was present at Lady Augusta's foolish ceremony at St. George's; the old lady is in a sad aching about it.

We are all well again under this roof. Did I men-

* Lord Loughborough.

Hosted by Google

tion that my brother Morton would be likely to have the embassy to Madrid?

I am, my dear Lord Henry, sincerely and affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Mr. Craufurd to Lord Auckland.

Brussels, February 10th, 1794.

My Lord,—Since writing to your Lordship on the 24th of January, I have had the honour to receive your letters of the 24th and 28th of that month, and 5th instant. Before this reaches your Lordship, M. Mack, I hope, will be in England: his health, I understand, is still very bad. He has taken with him an emigrant surgeon, named the Père Elizé, who was formerly of the Frères de la Charité, a great *bavard*, a good operator, I am told, but ignorant in physic. The preservation of Mack is of so much consequence, that I wish your Lordship would prevail upon him to consult some of our best physicians in London. Nothing can be more flattering than the reputation he so universally, and I believe so deservedly, enjoys; and it is comfortable to think that the public* are again to have the benefit of his services; but the very great importance that is given to these, produces, at the same time, some anxious reflections—it implies a want of them elsewhere, while we know that he is exposed, like others, to the accidents of war, and we have before us the certitude of a frail constitution. But in saying this, I hope your Lordship will not imagine that I am one of those unfortunate beings, who, by refining too much on possibilities, unnecessarily torment themselves—far from it; but as your Lordship has the goodness to let me speak without reserve, I mention just what occurs to me, and if it be defec-

* Mack's reception at Brussels is thus described:—"Partout il faisoit sensation: au Parc, à la comédie on le saluoit par des *bravos*, des applaudissemens unanimes, des cris répétés de *vive Mack! vive l'Empereur!* On voyoit en lui l'âme de l'armée Autrichienne."—*Mémoires d'un Homme d'état*, pp. 377, 378.

Hosted by Google

tive in judgment it is at least free from prejudice. Every hour is now of importance, and every step that is taken may be productive of some serious consequence. And when we reflect upon the errors that were committed in the last campaign, the time that was wasted, and the opportunities that were lost, surely everything that foresight can devise should be adopted, in order that the ensuing campaign be conducted throughout with energy and judgment.

The first part of last campaign was brilliant indeed. It was astonishing to look back from the banks of the Scheldt to the Roer and the Rhine, and observe what had been performed in little more than a month; but what followed, I believe, will by no means stand the test of impartial examination. These and many other considerations make me recur to the idea I once hinted at, of having ministers furnished with sufficient powers to observe the operations, correspond with the commander-in-chief, give their opinions, and, if necessary, their decision on any fortuitous circumstances that may be unprovided for, and of such a nature as not to admit of the delay that would be required to apply to and receive instructions from London and Vienna. Had such powers existed at the time that M. de Mercy applied to the Prince of Coburg to advance to Cambray, the expedition to Dunkirk would probably have been suspended, and Maubeuge, Landrecy, and Cambray now in the possession of the allies. M. de Mercy has never varied in his opinions on this head, and it is sanctioned by the opinions of men whose experience and services have gained them the confidence of the army. However excellent the plan that is now proposed may be, whatever foresight may have been employed in arranging it, events may happen to make alterations necessary, and should Mack be unable to keep the field, the execution of it may fall to men who entertain other ideas, or who may be unequal to the task: but if ministers, furnished with such powers as I have mentioned, were established at Brussels, though Mack were unable to keep

Hosted by Google

the field, he might be able to come to and remain at Brussels, and assist those ministers with his observations and advice.

I understand from Lord Elgin that he delivered Jarry's *Mémoire** to Mack, who has carried it with him to England. I wish it had been previously examined here—perhaps some observations might have been added, and whatever had the appearance of criticism would have been suppressed. Besides, Jarry says that it was written in a hurry, while he was very much indisposed, and he requests that it may rather be considered as containing materials for composing a *Mémoire*, than a work digested and arranged. He is certainly able to furnish much valuable local information, such as cannot be obtained from maps, or from any one but a professional man who has examined the country, and who is at the same time a man of science. M. de Mercy has mentioned him to Mack, and both De Mercy and La Marck continue to speak of him, not only as a military man of superior abilities, but as a person who may be confided in, and whom they earnestly wish to see employed. Your Lordship may recollect that this man sitting in London, from his knowledge in war, and of the country where it was carried on, foretold almost every miscarriage of any consequence that happened in the late campaign. Though he is a very modest man, and though he is always very respectful in his behaviour, yet, being out of humour at the manner in which the campaign has been conducted, he has been apt, of late, to fall into personal reflections, and therefore it may not be unnecessary if your Lordship, before he saw Mack, were to send for him and desire him to abstain from them; for, whatever Mack may interiorly think of the abilities of the Prince of Coburg, decency, duty, and indeed gratitude, require, that in the eye of the world he should place him in the most favourable point of view possible, and repress rather than listen to anything that may be said to his disadvantage.

* This was another Mémoire.

Hosted by Google

Indeed he is so good and honourable a man, that even with those who have no connection with him, it requires an effort to speak of his weaknesses. I have lately been told things that induce me to think he is by no means deficient in judgment; but, from the habit of being constantly guided by others, he may be considered as a sheet of white paper, indeed, without a spot; but, as far as regards his public character, everything depends on the honour and capacity of the person that may write upon it.

The cause of failure in many instances in the last campaign was the want of good intelligence. The Austrians neither reward their spies sufficiently, nor are they dexterous in employing them.

M. de Mercy has been indisposed. No one, as far as I can presume to judge, seems to see things at present through a juster medium than he does; but he sometimes requires to be animated. If he happens to be much displeased, the first idea that seems to occur to him, lately, is to retire. Since I returned from England he has twice, on occasions of that kind, gone away to an estate he has near Liege, and came back from it with reluctance. In August last he was very much disposed to quit public affairs altogether, and on the 30th of that month wrote an official letter addressed to the Baron Thugut, wherein he took a view of them for a considerable time past. He referred to what he had written on different occasions, he showed where his opinions had been neglected, where he had been obliged to acquiesce in and give his name to measures that he disapproved, and pointed out several important occasions, when he had anxiously solicited instructions, that were so long deferred that when at last they came they were no longer of any use. He said his situation was so equivocal and undefined, that, while he appeared to the world to be responsible for what was done or what was neglected, he, in reality, was responsible for nothing, for that he neither had power to prevent what he thought improper or to get executed what he thought necessary. He told them

Hosted by Google

he was afraid they had yet to learn the danger and magnitude of the contest they were engaged in,—a contest from which, in his opinion, it was impossible to recede, without exposing themselves to those calamities that, in a very short space indeed, had laid prostrate the greatest monarchy, and now devastated the richest and most populous country of any upon the globe; for that if any man should tell him to rely upon what might be proposed by the tyrants of to-day, or those who might succeed them to-morrow, he should consider that man as a fool or an impostor. He said so much had been urged upon the danger of the present crisis, that argument was exhausted; that it would be painful for him to go over what he had already so long insisted upon; that he should only observe, that in the proceedings of former times they would find no rule to go by; they might mislead, but could not possibly be of any use; that the contest was not for a town, or a province, or to preserve a balance between rival powers; that if the war was properly conducted, these objects would be obtained, but, in his mind, the contest, in the first instance, was for the preservation of the order of civil society, religion, government, laws, and to prevent atheists and savage murderers from carrying, with the fanaticism of early ages and the arts of modern times, their diabolical principles and practices into every country of Europe where religion and government were yet respected. And through the whole letter he expressed himself in such forcible terms as greatly surprised me,—he seemed on that occasion to have assumed an entirely new character, and spoke both of men and measures with a degree of freedom that I should have thought him incapable of.

In the reply, I understand, they seemed to embrace all his sentiments. They assured him that if anything had been neglected that he proposed, it was to be ascribed to the force of circumstances, and not to any want of confidence in his judgment, for that they considered him "as the anchor by which the vessel rode," and

Hosted by Google

they conjured him to continue to exert with his usual zeal those abilities that had been so frequently and so importantly employed in the service of Marie Thérèse and her successor.

He was lately informed that Mack would be the bearer to him of power and instructions of the most ample kind; but notwithstanding this, and what was said in reply to his letter of the 30th of August, I have reason to think that Mack brought scarcely any instructions to him at all, and that his powers are almost the same as they were before; but what appears a paradox, I am told that Mack is referred to him, and the Prince of Coburg desired to communicate all his operations to him, and advise him of and consult him upon whatever he may propose to undertake.

I have the honour to be, with the sincerest attachment, my Lord, your Lordship's obliged and obedient humble servant,

QU. CRAUFURD.

Mr. Craufurd to Lord Auckland.

Brussels, February 14th, 1794.

My Lord, — I had the honour to write to your Lordship on the 10th, and since then to receive your letter of the 7th, and the supplement therein mentioned.

What appears to me to be the grand object of the war, is to crush the anarchical tyranny that now reigns through France, and restore a monarchical government — and this, not from a *blind* attachment to that form of government, nor out of compassion for the unfortunate royal family of France, nor a spirit of vengeance for the enormous crimes that have been perpetrated and are still committing in that wretched country, but because that form of government is better adapted to the country and its inhabitants than any other, because I think it is the only one that is likely to be permanent, and believe that on the resto-

Hosted by Google

ration of religion and monarchy in France, in a great measure depends the tranquillity and indeed stability of most of the governments in Europe.

If from any cause, however, it should be found that this great project cannot possibly be accomplished, the next to be desired, and which with proper management is most certainly attainable, is to confine the French within such limits as may deprive them of the power of materially disturbing other nations.

A third thing to be considered, but which is indeed included in the second, is to procure for the powers who bear the principal burdens in the war, indemnification for their immense expenses.

To accomplish the first, I take it for granted that the armies must march to and make themselves masters of Paris, or, in case of any great resistance there, destroy it. But surely no prudent man would advise this measure unless success were almost certain: nor would he risk, by attempting it, the mere accomplishment of the second object I have mentioned. Therefore, keeping the march in Paris still in view, upon mature reflection it will, perhaps, be found advisable to begin by reducing almost all the frontier places; the expedition to Paris might then be undertaken without danger; and previous thereto, by the reduction of those places, much indeed will have been effected for bringing the war to a safe and honourable termination.

Some extraordinary event perhaps may happen, to enable the allies to undertake this expedition in the early part of the campaign; but in the way of calculation this cannot be taken into account. I believe that in August last, an army well equipped, and under an able commander, might have gone to Paris without much difficulty; there was then a general consternation in the country, and for some weeks the credit of the Convention and even the influence of the Jacobins were in a very tottering state. It was one of those favourable moments when a bold and enterprising commander might have decided the contest; but what might have been advisable then, in the pre-

Hosted by Google

sent circumstances would perhaps deserve to be considered as madness.

The enemy are assembling at different places, and it is said in considerable numbers. An order is arrived in every part of French Flanders to arrest and send to places that are mentioned, every nobleman and gentleman without exception of any kind.

I have the honour to be, with sincere attachment, my Lord, your Lordship's very obedient and obliged humble servant,

QU. CRAUFURD.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Palace Yard, February 18th, 1794.

My dear Lord, — I enclose a long letter from Mrs. Chowne. I objected to the bulk of it, and made her take off one thick cover; she assured me that you would find it worth the postage. We are all well in this house; but I am tired and stupid to-night, having been till three o'clock this morning at the House of Lords, where the heat was excessive.

Lord Lansdowne made a speech eminently wicked, and calculated to disgust our allies, to put us at war with the neutral nations, and dispirit and dissatisfy the people of England and Ireland. Lord Grenville answered him in a speech of four hours, which I am obliged to think fine, because he took occasion to pay me some very high compliments in the course of it; but it really was one of the best speeches that I ever heard in either House of Parliament, and delivered with a wonderful promptitude, method, and animation.

Colonel Mack* gave much satisfaction here, and appeared to great advantage in the conferences with the King's ministers. He was much at my house during the two days that he was in London. The worst is that his health is infirm and most precarious.

We are without any recent news from Paris. Great

* Mack was presented with a sword by George III.

Hosted by Google

preparations are making on our part for the campaign, both by sea and land. It is not supposed that the French will attempt any landing on these ports, nor indeed that it is practicable against fleets so superior as ours; but, nevertheless, various precautions of defence are now making. When will you be in England? We shall be settled at Beckenham. Our house here is growing comfortable. Lady Auckland is at home every evening, and, by degrees, is collecting the sort of society that we think the pleasantest, though it is rather too large.

Believe me, my dear Lord Henry, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Hosted by Google

CHAP. XXXI.

The Campaign of 1794.—Mack's Report of the French Preparations.—Lord Malmesbury's Negotiation.—State of Feeling in France.—Dissensions in the English Army.—Insurrection in Poland.—Debate in the House of Lords.—Arrival of the Emperor at Brussels.—The French make an Irruption into Flanders.—The Conspiracy in England.—Departure of the Emperor.—Great Consternation.—Resignation of Mack.—Defeat of the Prince of Coburg.

THE campaign of 1794 was now about to commence, and Colonel Mack had returned to Flanders to carry out the plan of operations which had been concerted in London.

This plan was the reduction of Landrecy, and then a direct "march to Paris;" and such were the hopes of success in England that, on the 10th of April, Mr. Jenkinson* spoke of this hazardous undertaking as an object that might easily be accomplished.

It will be seen from Mr. Craufurd's letter of the 11th of March, that Mack, who had made a *reconnaissance* of the French army, did not express himself in the same enthusiastic manner, and that he fully appreciated the danger of his position.

The arrival of the Emperor for a time appeared to be attended with beneficial effect; but his rapid disappearance when the danger of a French invasion was imminent, produced the most disastrous results on the spirit of the allies.

The Austrian army was discouraged, and after the battle of Fleurus, on the 26th of June, the Prince of Coburg ordered a retreat on Brussels, and from thence to the Rhine.

* Afterwards second Lord Liverpool, Prime Minister during the "march to Paris," in 1814 and 1815.

Hosted by Google

The English army retreated towards Holland.

Thus were lost all the fruits of the campaign of 1793; Austria and Holland were deprived of their hope of conquests; England alone had obtained her "indemnity," such as it was, in the West India Islands.

Mr. Craufurd to Lord Auckland.

Brussels, March 11th, 1794.

My Lord,—On Friday last I had the honour to receive your Lordship's letters of the 21st, 24th, and 28th February, and 4th of March; but I did not see the servant or messenger that you mention to be going to Vienna, and who, I imagine, brought the letters. I return your Lordship many thanks for the parliamentary debates, &c. The *Mémoire* from Jarry I gave to the Comte de Mercy, who delivered it to Mack. He says that Mack was much satisfied with some of his former writings, and wishes to see him, as he thinks he may be able to give him much local information, which he finds he is in want of. I told M. de Mercy that the proper way was for him or Mack to apply to Lord Elgin.

Mack returned from his tour to Treves in the night from the 5th to 6th, and set out for the head-quarters at Valenciennes on the 7th in the evening. He is far from being satisfied with what he has seen and learned in the course of his tour. He found the enemy everywhere in great force, their positions admirably chosen, and regular magazines established, at different places, through the whole extent of the frontier; he finds the force of the allies extremely inadequate to the purposes proposed; the recruits and reinforcements that are destined for their armies not arrived; the whole that was intended not sufficient; while the enemy probably only wait till the roads become practicable for their artillery, to open the campaign by vigorous offensive operations. By information that he has received from Vienna, he

Hosted by Google

apprehends that Rollin, particularly during the indisposition of M. de Lascy, has been using all his influence with the Emperor to divert him from coming here, to weaken his resolutions of exertion, and retard and cross what was intended, as much as he possibly can. Mack says that he has written to the Emperor in the most explicit terms; that he has told him what he has observed and what he thinks, without palliation or disguise, and has insisted on the necessity of his coming hither as expeditiously as possible. I know not what *official* language Mack may hold, but such, I have good reason to believe, is the substance of what he said in confidence.

Rollin, I believe, was placed about the present Emperor as an *adjutant* by his uncle. He is a native of Champagne. He has a brother in France; in short, by some even his fidelity is suspected, though perhaps without any other foundation than his country and connections.

Though impressed as I am with the most favourable opinion of Mack's abilities and military talents, in extenuation of his report of the enemy's strength*, it may be observed, that his own inspection could not extend beyond their posts, and for information of what was behind these, he must have depended upon the reports of spies and deserters. Undoubtedly, a man who is accustomed to warlike scenes, with a quick eye and an acute judgment, may arrive pretty near the truth; but deserters from this part of the frontier, and especially two that came over a few days ago,—one a priest, who, in order to escape, became an hussar, the other a person who was at the head of the charrois of the army at Lille, — say that their armies are indeed numerous, but that many have been compelled to come by violence, that they are badly armed, and prone to commit all sorts of excesses; that though the *Comité de Salut Public*, to furnish the magazines, have plundered the country,

* In the "Mémoires d'un Homme d'état" it is given as 150,000 men.

Hosted by Google

and limited the inhabitants to the consumption of a certain portion of bread only, still those magazines must soon be exhausted, unless fresh supplies be procured from other provinces, as all the frontier provinces have already been completely despoiled.

That the enemy should have selected good positions is not to be wondered at; these are indicated by the campaigns of former wars, and they are in possession of all the plans and memoirs of those campaigns. It should be remembered likewise, that the council of war who make the plans for the present war, and give instructions for executing them, is composed of men of great military knowledge and abilities. La Fite and D'Arcon * are perhaps two of the first engineers in Europe, and in their *état-major* there are still, it is said, some very good officers.

I think the enemy may be considered as a desperate gamester, who has set his fortune upon a single throw. If they are successful in this campaign, their republic (for such they call their ideal government) will be ratified, at least in as far as regards the interposition of foreigners; but if they should sustain any very signal losses, they are completely undone. I do not, however, by any means believe that this campaign will terminate the war, though it may decide what is to be the issue of it.

If your Lordship will consider that it is now near the middle of March, that the armies are by no means in a state of readiness, and then think on what remains to be performed, I believe you will be of the same way of thinking. The internal state of France is so pregnant of events, that undoubtedly some fortunate circumstance may happen, which, if improved, may bring the contest to a conclusion much earlier than can be at present foreseen; but God forbid that reliance upon what is fortuitous should slacken exertions for encountering difficulties which, in prudence, should be put down as certain.

* The constructor of the floating batteries against Gibraltar.

Hosted by Google

I understand that four new corps are to be raised, but I sincerely wish that it had been possible to have procured Prussians, Hessians, Saxons, or any other troops that are already formed and disciplined. These new corps will be without experience, and before they are completed, the campaign will be half over.

An *avocat* (an inhabitant of this place) who left Paris on the 4th, says that the scarcity of almost all sorts of provisions, except bread, is extreme, and their prices extravagant; that the people are sometimes very tumultuous, and, in one of their late riots, threatened, if not speedily supplied, "de manger les cadavres des membres de la Convention;" that Robespierre was still much indisposed, and that suspicions were whispered about among some of the Jacobins that he had been poisoned by his colleague Danton; that it was understood that orders had been sent to the generals to attack on different points as soon as possible, and that upon the whole there was an appearance of anxiety and apprehension.

It appears, by several private letters that I have seen, that the agents of the *Comité de Salut Public* have made immense purchases of grain, gunpowder, and saltpetre, in the North, and even our friends the Dutch are suspected as assisting them as carriers. France has certainly received very considerable supplies from foreign countries, otherwise the scarcity would have been much greater than it is.

I have the honour to be, with sincere attachment, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and obliged humble servant,

QU. CRAUFURD.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Vienna, Monday, March 24th, 1794.

My dear Brother,—The return to England of Count Stahremberg's servant affords me an opportunity of scribbling to you a few lines with freedom.

By a messenger that arrived yesterday from Berlin,

Hosted by Google

this minister was informed that the *Projet** *de Convention* transmitted from thence on the 16th past, had been deemed inadmissible in England. This of course, and the bad faith of the Prussians, daily manifested, is looked upon here as a justification of their refusal. I cannot but think that the negotiation has been bungled, and that if less anxiety had been shown we should have had our different contingents, and perhaps somewhat more at a moderate price. I told Lord Malmesbury, on his arrival at Berlin, that he might reckon both on his Prussian Majesty's and on Luchesini's desire at least to return to the army. The manner in which the troops are withdrawing proves this, and if much cannot be had a little will be taken. What proportion the services may bear to the price paid, time will discover. I think that the fate of the campaign will be nearly decided before any reinforcement could reach the Rhine.

I am grieved that I have not been able to bring this court to some specific decision in favour of Holland. What is granted will be the price of our alliance. I had last night another long discussion with M. de Thugut on the business. He repeated that the Emperor admitted the justness of the principle, adverted to the difficulties of his own situation, thwarted by the great nobility†, and added his most confident hopes that on his Majesty's arrival in the Low Countries the business would be settled in such a manner as to give satisfaction to his Majesty.

The Emperor's departure will certainly take place during the first week of April. The Empress will follow him after her lying-in in April. I have been again invited to attend his Imperial Majesty, but I conclude that ere he sets out I shall receive my letters of recall. Many handsome things have been said to me on this subject in the Emperor's name, and a wish to see me return hither as Ambassador. Though I

* Lord Malmesbury's first *projet* was a subsidy for 100,000 Prussians.
† Who were opposed to the war for the sake of the Low Countries.

Hosted by Google

may not accompany his Imperial Majesty, my wish for the accomplishment of the alliance is not less sincere and less ardent, and I think that an interview between Lord Grenville and M. de Thugut would remove the difficulty of the Dutch indemnification, and indeed every other difficulty.

Great apprehensions are entertained here of the Russian armaments on the Turkish frontiers. The explosion is, I fear, inevitable, however it may thwart our endeavours for the destruction of Jacobinism. I have long said that the views and intentions of the Empress were to avail herself of the present troubles to divide Poland and drive the Turks out of Europe.

Her conduct and that of the Court of Berlin at this awful period excite the utmost indignation. There are new troubles in Poland which may make it necessary for her to march back part of her troops from the Ukraine, as well to appease those troubles as to prevent his Prussian Majesty from interfering for that purpose, and founding some new pretext for further aggrandisement.

Adieu, my dear brother. Believe me to be, with every good wish to you and yours,

Ever your obliged and affectionate brother,

MORTON EDEN.

Mr. Craufurd to Lord Auckland.

Brussels, March 25th, 1794.

My Lord,—I had the honour to write a few lines to your Lordship on the 21st. I wish that the Archduke's * journey may be productive of all the advantages that are expected from it; but if to the influence of his personal connection had been added the weight and importance that would have been given by the presence of the Comte de Mercy, my hopes would have been more sanguine.

Those who chiefly support the war, and the mea-

* Charles.

Hosted by Google

sures that are necessary to insure success, have long since given him to understand that his presence at Vienna, were it only for a few days, would probably remove all the difficulties they are almost constantly contending with, and which they cannot always surmount; but he only insists, in reply, on the necessity of the Emperor's coming here himself. He has just received another most flattering letter, and the Emperor having seen a paper that was published here, wherein M. de Mercy was disrespectfully spoken of, and imagining that it was not *sufficiently discouraged* by those in office, he wrote a letter to the Archduke on the 28th of last month, of which the enclosed is a copy.

Though the victory gained by Robespierre and his party appears to be very decisive, in as far as regards Hebert* and others, who had openly declared against him, yet it has proved, almost more than anything that has happened before, that no man's life or property is in safety longer than it may be agreeable to the *Comité de Salut Public.* The crimes they may have to boast will in no way avail, if the committee are determined to cut them off. No one had higher pretensions to the love and admiration of the mob than the *Père du Chesne*, who had long amused them, and was one of the principal actors in all the massacres that have been committed. This event will either procure to the committee the most entire and universal submission, or accelerate their ruin; but I think there is reason to expect the last. I know not what general political considerations there may be to prevent the allied powers from making a declaration of their intentions in regard to the government of France, but in as far as respects the success of the war, and the downfal of the committee and the Convention, I am persuaded that a specific declaration of their intention to restore the monarchy, with the reform of abuses and an amnesty to all but such as may be

* Editor of the *Père du Chesne.*

Hosted by Google

particularly excepted, would now be productive of the most salutary effects.

Though I do not adopt all that is said by Mallet du Pan, who often writes according to the humour and impression of the moment, and is apt to exaggerate, *tantôt en bien et tantôt en mal*, I think he is right in saying that the French only see France invaded by foreigners, without knowing their intentions, but suspecting that they are merely to make conquests, and after making use of those who are attached to the monarchy, to leave them to themselves, exposed to the fury and resentment of the republicans. All is doubt and conjecture with them; they have nothing before them to fix their thoughts or inspire confidence, while the melancholy examples of Lyons, Toulon, and the Vendée operate strongly upon their fears, and augment their mistrust.

A declaration of the nature I have mentioned seems therefore to be essentially necessary; the emigrants might thus be usefully employed. They have been most severely chastised, indeed, for all their former transgressions, and I suppose will be ready to submit to whatever is prescribed to them. I know not whether your Lordship has in your recollection the King's declaration to the States of the 23rd June, 1789; but this, and some of the *cahiers* or instructions given to the members of the States by their constituents, contained every reform that was compatible, I believe, with order and good government, in a nation so numerous, restless, and profligate. This war cannot be carried on for years, and therefore every means for bringing it to a speedy and happy termination should be employed at once, instead of exerting them in detail when others have proved unsuccessful. If the emigrants are to be made use of, perhaps it would be better to employ them as a body, assisted by a detachment of the allied troops, than dividing them and attaching them to the different armies. There is but little risk of their ever becoming so powerful as to be able to thwart the operations of the allies, were they

Hosted by Google

even so inclined; their whole dependence is, and must be, upon England and Austria, and they are now convinced that, except phrases and compliments, they have nothing to expect in the way of serious and permanent support, either from Prussia or the Court of Petersburg.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Palace Yard, March 28th, 1794.

My dear Lord Henry,—I have received yours dated "March 4th, 1793." The mistake lengthens the idea of your distance from us. I have not yet heard the result of Lord Grenville's proposition to you, but I hope to know it in a day or two. The great object of the war is much where it was when I last wrote. The Courts of Vienna and Berlin have not shown much cordiality towards each other; but the latter will continue to pipe (more or less), and it is settled that John Bull and Nic Frog* shall pay the piper. We are making great exertions in this country, which is more loyal and more united in the cause than ever.

With respect to the enemy, we have reason to believe that their embarrassments are extreme. They want food and money, and are torn to pieces by the bloodiest and most vicious excesses of internal discord and anarchy; but their armies continue formidable, and, perhaps, are strengthened by the miseries of the country. My private opinion has long been that we shall gain everything, if we can gain time.

The neutral nations, as they call themselves, and particularly Denmark, are doing everything that they can do to feed the war. I make no doubt that we shall ultimately find means to discharge the obligation. In the mean time, many of their ships are brought in every day; and I do not believe that many escape the redoubled vigilance of our cruisers. We are expecting good accounts from the West Indies; and it is supposed that the conquest of Corsica is completed.

* Holland agreed to pay 400,000*l.*

Hosted by Google

Our session of Parliament is drawing towards its close, and I think that it may be prorogued about the middle of May.

As to personal matters, my situation remains undecided, and I feel no impatience relative to it. In the mean time, I attend Committees of Council, Prize Causes, Plantation Causes, Appeals to the House of Lords, &c. Lady Auckland and the troop are all in perfect health. She is at home every evening, and receives everybody that comes.

Believe me, my dear Lord Henry, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Vienna, Monday, March 31st, 1794.

My dear Brother,—I write to you by a messenger sent hither by Lord Malmesbury the day of his departure for the Hague, whither, he says, the negotiation is transferred by the desire of his Prussian Majesty, though the Prussians give out that it is at his own request. Be that as it may, I believe that he foresees that it is likely to come to nothing, and is glad to get away before the strong declaration that he expects from us arrives at Berlin. You will know that he has sent to England another project, the same as the first famous one, with no other change than the taking away 20,000 men in consequence of the refusal of this Court to pay its fifth, and the bread and forage from the empire. A day or two after he received orders to demand the 20,000 men, as stipulated by our treaty, and an offer of a million for 30,000 more, to be at the King's disposal. This his Prussian Majesty rejected, as it placed him, he said, on the same footing with the inferior German Princes, while he wished to co-operate in the war not only in his military capacity, but from his political principles and opinions. Of the 20,000 men he said nothing. This was the state of the business at Lord Malmesbury's departure with M. de

Hosted by Google

Haugwitz for the Hague to meet the answer to the proposal for furnishing the 80,000 men according to the first *projet*. His Lordship knew from me the King of Prussia's and Luchesini's earnest desire to return to the army, and if he had availed himself of it, he might have dictated the conditions. The world accuses him of having most precipitately given up everything. Of this you know enough to form your opinion. He and the Court of Berlin have given out that the business failed in consequence of this Court's refusing its accession. It has given no small pleasure here to learn from Count Stahremberg that the *projet* was equally looked upon in London as inadmissible. The last offer of the King gives unfeigned pleasure here; it will not, I suppose, be accepted, as the game is to be arbitrator of the peace. After what passed in the two last campaigns, nothing but absolute distress could make this advisable.

You will have heard of the Archduke's* sudden departure from the Low Countries. He arrived here on Thursday most unexpectedly, and threw the Court and town into the utmost consternation. It was a *trait de jeunesse* that appears unpardonable, and, as old K.† said, in former times would not have been overlooked. It is supposed that your friend M.‡ was the instigator of it, that his Royal Highness might, amongst other things, convince the Emperor of the necessity of the Prussian co-operation at any price. The determination, however, on this head is, I believe, irrevocable; and I much fear that Mack will be censured for not adhering to his instructions, and for meddling with political arrangements. We understand that there are great divisions amongst the chiefs in your army§ in the Low Countries. God send

* Archduke Charles. † Kaunitz. ‡ Mack.

§ The Duke of Portland writes to Lord Malmesbury on Feb. 16th:— "I cannot help saying, that unless the licentious, not to say mutinous, spirit against the Duke of York which prevails among our troops, and which originated, and is even cultivated, in the Guards, is not subdued and extinguished, there is an end of the army." — *Malmesbury Correspondence*, vol. iii. p. 62.

Hosted by Google

that the Emperor's arrival there may put an end to them. I every day deplore more and more the want of a principal minister; it is felt in almost every department. Thugut promises me that we shall be satisfied with regard to the Dutch indemnity. I have told him that this is a *sine quâ non*.

Before this can reach you, you will have heard of the new Confederation at Cracow.* It is a most alarming business for this country, as Galicia is not without its malcontents, and there are not 1000 troops left in the whole province, of which old Wurmser is the commander. Indeed, it may be fatal to us all if it be, as is suspected, connected with Descorches'† intrigues at Constantinople. I have ever thought that the conduct towards Poland did more hurt to the cause of kings than the most violent acts of the Jacobins.

On the 24th, Kosciusko, the chief of the Confederation, published a declaration, in which the unhappy treatment of the country is sufficiently noticed. The Russians have few men left in Poland, nearly the whole of their forces having marched towards Ukraine.‡ They must return, and probably the Prussians will march into the country, as their boundary-marks have been insulted by another corps assembled near to Rava. What will be the event? A further *partage?* Judge of the embarrassment of this ministry,—threatened with the breaking out of hostilities on their frontiers, as well towards Poland as towards Turkey, and scarcely a man left in them to defend them from the inroads of lawless banditti.

If this insurrection in Poland could divert the Empress from her designs against Turkey, it would be of some advantage; for if once she is embarked in that war, the King of Prussia must be here an object

* The insurrection in Poland had begun: the Russians were expelled from Cracow by Kosciusko.

† The French Minister.

‡ They were meant to act against Turkey.

Hosted by Google

of just apprehension, as there would be no longer any check on him. Perhaps the desire of keeping Poland in subjection, a jealousy of Prussia's acquiring there a further aggrandisement, and the apprehensions of the machinations carrying on between the French and Swedes, with the increasing influence of France in Denmark, may show her Imperial Majesty the expediency of at least deferring the execution of her designs against Turkey. Should this be the case, the uneasiness of this Court would be removed.

The Emperor sets out on Wednesday morning for Brussels, where he hopes to arrive on the 9th. M. de Thugut sets out a few days after him; and I shall follow about the same time, and wait at Brussels for my letters of recall, and for orders. I trust that his Imperial Majesty's presence will have a good effect at the army, where I fear much jealousy exists among the chiefs. It is melancholy that with such an army so great an apprehension of the enemy should prevail.

Adieu, my dear brother. May every happiness attend you and yours. Believe me to be, with great truth,

Ever your obliged and affectionate brother,

MORTON EDEN.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Palace Yard, April 1st, 1794.

My dear Lord Henry,—I rejoice exceedingly in your appointment to the Berlin mission. It is a great point, at twenty-two years of age, to have been employed in such times as these at the Hague, at Vienna, at Stockholm, and Berlin. I will not enter by this conveyance into further speculations on this subject, but I have more to say respecting it as soon as I can. I wish that Lord Grenville would contrive that you might come to England for three or four weeks in *your way* to Berlin, and I have told him so, but I do not know whether he will think it right. I conceive

Hosted by Google

that you will be employed this summer at Berlin and not at the army; but I do not know that there will be any English minister at the latter, or that the position would be very eligible. More on these matters soon. Lord Malmesbury and the Comte de Haugwitz are now at the Hague.

We have no news; the report of a large embarkation of French to invade Jersey had no foundation but in the fears of some parsons and petticoats at Jersey. The frigate "La Carmagnole" has been chased ashore by one of our frigates, and is lost. The rebellion in La Vendée is alive, and the men-tigers at Paris are tearing each other to pieces. You will have seen the catastrophe of Anacharsis Cloots*, the orator of the human race. You may remember that last year I was threatened with impeachment for saying in a state paper that the Divine vengeance was bearing heavy on these regicides. The event at least has justified me.

The Irish Parliament is prorogued. Ours may sit six weeks longer, but at present we have no interesting business. To-day I passed eight hours at the Council and at the House of Lords in hearing different appeals, and now Lady Auckland has her assembly, to which I am summoned.

Believe me, my dear Lord Henry, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Vienna, Wednesday, April 9th, 1794.

My dear Brother,—I wrote to you on Friday by an Austrian messenger going to Brussels, to thank you for yours of the 17th past. I now write merely to inform you that Baron Thugut having deferred his departure till Friday, I have done the same, since it would be useless for me to reach Brussels before he does. We shall be there by the 20th. I shall hope to hear from you, and to know whether you recommend

* Guillotined March 23rd, 1794.

Hosted by Google

to me to sell all my things, or whether there is any chance of my returning hither. I leave the place with sincere regret.

We have no news from Poland, except that the insurrection is not general, and that the inhabitants of Cracow look upon the business as desperate.

In the name of God, why do we not check the trade of the Danes with France? If we show ourselves to be determined, they will give way; and certainly the Empress, if necessary, must be forced into the war against them, since her interests, as far as trade goes, are in the Baltic as deeply engaged as ours.

Adieu, my dear brother. Believe me to be, with every good wish to you and yours,

Ever your obedient and affectionate brother,

MORTON EDEN.

Lord Henry Spencer to Lord Auckland.

Stockholm, April 15th, 1794.

My dear Lord,—I am glad to find that you have at last received some of my letters, as, however uninteresting they may be as long as I remain at this place, I ought not to withhold them on that account, and I may say, with Dogberry, that if I were as tedious as a king, I would bestow it all upon you.

We are very much occupied here with our plots and conspiracies, which were certainly of a very desperate nature. A casket of Armfeldt's* has been brought here from Italy, filled with letters from a variety of persons now residing here. It appears from them that a negotiation had been entered into with a *foreign power*†, to send a fleet to Stockholm, and, by means of Armfeldt's partisans, to seize on the reins of government, and effect a revolution. In short, a second edition of what happened in Poland would

* Baron d'Armfeldt was Swedish Ambassador to the States of Italy. Lord Holland, who was at Naples in 1793, states that the Queen was "very busily employed in screening D'Armfeldt."—*Memoirs of the Whig Party*, vol. i. p. 55.

† Russia.

Hosted by Google

probably have taken place, if the *étourderie* of Armfeldt had not betrayed the plan. The day before yesterday M. de Guldenstolpe, his Majesty's Governor, was dismissed from his office, and banished from Stockholm. He is accused of having corresponded with Armfeldt, and also "d'avoir cherché à inspirer au jeune Roi des doutes sur la pureté des intentions du Duc Régent." In short, the whole is a scene of complicated villany, and it is feared that many principal people here must have been deeply engaged in it.

What you say about the neutrals gives me great pleasure. Their conduct has certainly been equally impolitic and unfair, and if a great nation should at length be tired of being sported with, they may severely repent the duplicity and sordidness of their present system.

It is possible that I may receive Lord Grenville's answer to my acceptance of Berlin by to-day's post. If he should give me a tolerably fair allowance of time, I mean to go by Petersburg, which is very little further than the usual way by Copenhagen.

Ever, my dear Lord, sincerely yours,

H. SPENCER.

Mr. Woodfall to Lord Auckland.

Salisbury Square, April 16th, 1794.

My Lord,—Will you give me leave to beg the favour of you to send me the extract from your book on the Penal Laws, which Lord Lauderdale read with such a warmth of praise in the course of his speech?*

Lord Mansfield's speech was surely an admirable one as far as referred to the Scotch. The eulogy on the Judges of the Court of Justiciary was, in my humble judgment, somewhat over-laboured.

Surely the Chancellor was a little out of temper:

* Against the conduct of the Scottish judges, who had sentenced Muir to fourteen years' transportation.

Hosted by Google

he made as much as any man could of the parts he touched upon; but who can make much of the *fringes of a petticoat?*

Was it not extraordinary that nobody took notice of that very material and extraordinary fact stated by the Earl of Lauderdale, viz., that the Lord Justice Clerk declared, since the trial, that he had no idea that his sentence extended further than mere transportation to Botany Bay for fourteen years, and that he was not aware that servitude was annexed as a part of the punishment? I have taken the liberty of writing to Lord Mansfield for a note of his speech: as my reports sell so well, and will get into libraries as a book of reference, they are to be viewed in a very different light from the fugitive pages of a newspaper, and it is well worth any person's while to do himself justice by saving his speech from the possibility of misrepresentation. Lord Carlisle very handsomely sent Dr. Coombes to me, and was glad I had written to him. Mr. Rose also sent a very friendly answer to a note of mine on the same subject. But I am babbling instead of writing upon business; I will therefore cut the letter short by subscribing myself

Your Lordship's respectful and obedient servant,

W. WOODFALL.

P.S.—Before I had the pleasure of your Lordship's acquaintance you sent my brother* a copy of your book, which I would refer to on this occasion instead of troubling you, but since his fire all his books are in utter confusion, and he knows not where to lay his hand on it.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Sheffield Place, April 21st, 1794.

Many thanks for your fragment, which reached me just as I was setting out for this place. I am glad

* Henry Woodfall.

Hosted by Google

that Lady Auckland and the nine are to be freshened at Beckenham for some days, and that the weather is so good. I come to ten times more plague and embarrassment in the country than I experienced in London; I ought to attend a public meeting every day next week. Having promoted the county meeting, I surely must attend it. I have instigated sundry persons to be active in their different districts, and I hope we shall make a tolerable figure. Lord Egremont is excellently disposed. I hope Lord Gage will engage. In most parts there is a great lack of leaders.

I have from the beginning recommended that subscriptions should not be the primary but the secondary consideration, and that the country should commit itself to raise squadrons and companies without expense to Government, and then each district to maintain its own levies, by which means there will be good management in respect to expenditure, which will not be the case if the disbursements are to be drawn from a general fund, and the meagreness of subscription will not be visible.

You say there are a few mischief-makers in the interior. As you, or at least your violent lady classes in that description all those who do not believe in the absolute infallibility of ministers and their measures, I say there are a great many.

Although there be not ground for apprehension at present, there may be some time hence. We shall begin the campaign with *éclat*. The expectation of the public will be raised beyond reason. The winding-up probably will not bring peace. Then be assured this country will be heartily sick of the war; a subsidy to Austria will make a devil of an effect. I shall be essentially satisfied, because we must then be in possession of the French West Indies. Then the pamphlet which poor Gibbon persuaded me to write, will be read from John O'Groat's House to the Land's End, and with greater effect than the "Considerations on the German War." I certainly am no longer afraid of French politics; perhaps I am grown callous. Events

Hosted by Google

have happened to me within a year which have reduced me to an eminent degree of philosophy, indifference, or whatever you please to call it. I fear I care little about anything. I perceive that I hate politicians most heartily. I am piqued, perhaps, into vigorous notions. I rather feel I am in train to become what despots call a democrat, and in time, by the engaging ways of Lady Auckland and of *another*, I may slide further, and gradually become a friend of the people and of reform.

I must not forget to mention that on my last visit to your house I fell in with an astonishing multitude of women in clusters,—General Lord Howard* astounded in the ante-room, not daring to go further. Lady Auckland ordered me to break into the midst of them, but I soon effected my escape with precipitation. Here I shall remain till I find I have leisure to reflect, then I shall move to town to get rid of the inconvenience, and there Lady Auckland always raises at least my spirit.

This house is full, and we expect Sir Henry Clinton and Pelham forthwith.

Yours ever,

SHEFFIELD.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Brussels, Sunday, April 25th, 1794.

My dear Brother, — I wrote to you a few lines on Tuesday last, immediately after my arrival at this place. The next day was the inauguration, which went off very well, but, as a show, was infinitely less splendid than a Lord Mayor's day. The Emperor's † journey, civilly and militarily, has had an excellent effect, and I most sincerely regret that it did not take place at the time that it was originally intended.

The fall of Landrecy is now expected as certain,

* Of Effingham.

† The Emperor had reviewed the allied army on the 16th of April.

Hosted by Google

but there was, I understand, a perilous moment, and as to the next operation there are different opinions; Mack is for the attack of Avesnes, others for that of some place in the plain, which may enable us to bring the enemy to a general engagement. Jarry, whom I have seen at Lord Elgin's, seems to be of this opinion. He went this morning with Lord E. to the head-quarters, to have a meeting with Mack. This latter is, I am told, at present satisfied, but I fear that the arrival of Prince Waldeck will be a thorn in his side. I insist on the necessity of supporting him as a means of retaining our confidence, and shall take occasion to speak further on this point with your old friend Count Mercy, who is civility itself. He has a dog that you gave him, which was brought in in form.

I have put Elgin at his ease. He seems not to have a shadow of jealousy of me, but speaks feelingly of the arrival of Lord Yarmouth.

Lord Malmesbury has written that he is coming with a plan for the meeting of the Emperor with the King of Prussia. What good can result from it, except the gratification of his own vanity, I cannot see: if I did not look upon my political existence here as terminated, I should take this point of his volunteering very ill.

Count Mercy tells me that already the Prussians pretend that the 20,000 men due to this Court are to be reckoned in the 62,000. I expect no good from this treaty, though I think that the experiment was to be made. I think that a further handle will be given to opposition by some new seizure in Poland, whither some of the regiments destined for the Rhine are marched. The Stadtholder set out this morning from hence to the Dutch head-quarters. MM. de Mercy and Thugut go there at the beginning of the week. I shall follow them when I hear from the office or you, and I shall then regulate my further motions.

Adieu, my dear brother. Believe me to be ever your obliged and affectionate brother,

MORTON EDEN.

Hosted by Google

I hope that the *émigrés* are to be employed in Brittany. Would it not be a good plan to send thither the Prince of Condé and his corps? This Court would, I believe, consent. It consists of above 5000 good and effective men, well disciplined.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Brussels, Sunday, May 2nd, 1794.

My dear Brother,—I am still without any letters from England, and consequently unable to regulate my further motions. My intention is to go to the head-quarters, but as I am unwilling to leave Lady Eden here alone, I shall defer it till I receive my letters of recall: this will save me a second journey.

I am impatient to learn your opinion of the copy of the letter that I sent you on Tuesday. I have been in some uneasiness about its safety, as the same evening people flocked in here from Ghent, with accounts of the French having made an irruption into Flanders, and of their making an alarming progress. These accounts are evidently exaggerated, but still I fear that they have had some success. I am astonished that our great magazines at Ghent, on the safety of which must depend our operations, should be left so much exposed. It will appear to you extraordinary that this Government should be still uninformed of what passed at so small a distance, but such is the fact. I saw yesterday evening Messrs. Bender, Trautsmansdorff, and Metternich, and they knew no more of it than their cook-maids. Nor do they know more of what is going on at the main army, in Namur and in Luxembourg.

A Dutch officer, who passed through this place yesterday, left with Baron Hop the welcome news of the surrender of Landrecy. I wish that it may be found practicable to go into the plain without taking Avesnes. Jarry is still at the army, as is Elgin, who is ubiquity itself. I have just learnt that Lord Malmesbury is returned hither on his way to England.

Hosted by Google

I mentioned in my last that Count Mercy and M. de Thugut are gone to the head-quarters; the latter pressed me to accompany him, but as I have no instructions whatsoever, I declined it, since I could have done nothing but echo Lord M.

Adieu, my dear brother. Believe me to be, with great and unfeigned attachment, ever your affectionate and obliged

MORTON EDEN.

Mr. Craufurd to Lord Auckland.

Brussels, May 9th, 1794.

My Lord,—I have refrained for some time from troubling your Lordship, as I was persuaded that Sir Morton Eden would communicate to you everything, and more than I could possibly have informed you of. He went on Wednesday last to take leave of the Emperor, and is expected back here this evening or to-morrow. His departure is much regretted by his friend the Baron Thugut, who professes the highest esteem for him. Indeed, as far as I can presume to judge, he appears to me to be as free from prejudice or improper partiality as any one I know, and consequently he sees things through a clear and unbiassed medium.

This, in my humble opinion, is a very critical, and indeed, I may say, a very awful moment. As I observed to your Lordship, I believe, once before, this campaign probably will not terminate the contest; but it will certainly show, nearly, how it is to be decided. The irruption into Flanders has been a most unfortunate circumstance indeed, and what aggravates it, perhaps it was avoidable, as it was certainly apprehended. The allies find themselves *arrested* by it, at the outset of a most brilliant career: it has diverted the public opinion from the impression that was made by their successes; it has already occasioned great and severe losses; it will probably be the cause of much effusion of blood; and even though the enemy be ultimately completely repulsed,

Hosted by Google

it will retard the great operations of the army for perhaps a month, even on a very moderate calculation. Though the enemy are so near us, we have no certain account here of their strength or situation,—perhaps you are better informed in England than we are at Brussels. We know in general that they are in great force, that they beat Clairfayt*, that they have destroyed the works at Menin, that they were preparing to invest Ypres, and that on the 7th the Duke of York and Clairfayt were marching to attack them. Unless they succeed in this (and doubts are entertained whether their force be equal to the enterprise), the enemy, by pouring in troops from the places behind, may so establish themselves in Flanders as, at least for a time, to give an entire new direction to the operations of the campaign. The event has already sufficiently proved that the allies were too weak, both on their right and left (I mean, in speaking of the right and left, looking towards France), but for the late success of Beaulieu, and it is probable that they would have penetrated on the left towards Liege, as they have done on the right into Flanders. They will probably return to the charge; and there is already a private letter from Arlon of the 6th, saying that he had been attacked on the 5th, and had repulsed the enemy with considerable slaughter.

I must do Jarry the justice to say, that in some conversations I had with him, he foretold what has happened. He was of opinion that having an army of full 40,000 men upon the left, to act defensively or offensively, as circumstances should admit, the allies ought to have begun the campaign upon the right, by which they would have had the advantage of being in a plain, open country, and in a position to support the corps that might have been destined to watch the enemy towards the frontier of Flanders. As he observes, whatever may be our hopes and expectations, yet, as a military man, he could only

* At Moucron.

Hosted by Google

consider the nature and force of the enemy we had to contend with: fortuitous circumstances were immediately to be taken advantage of, but in the way of calculation, and in forming a plan of operations, were neither to be reckoned upon nor in any way taken into account, and he still insists that it is madness, in the present state of things, to think of advancing towards Paris, until you are masters of the principal frontier places; but, this once effected, every man in France will feel that Paris is at your mercy.

I have the honour to be, with sincere attachment, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and obedient humble servant,

QU. CRAUFURD.

P.S.—I have heard nothing of Jarry since he went to the army. Thugut seemed to have a high opinion of him. He may certainly be made useful; but great care should be taken to employ him in such a manner as cannot possibly give any sort of uneasiness to Mack.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Palace Yard, May 13th, 1794.

My dear Lord Henry,—Though I date this letter in Palace Yard, I write it from Lady Holdernesse's, where I am dining, at a very late hour, with Lady Auckland and the two eldest girls. I passed six hours this morning, and six hours yesterday morning, at the council on the examination of Mr. Adams, secretary of the Constitutional Society, and citizen Hardy, secretary of one of the Corresponding Societies.

You will see the general purport and object of this business in the King's message printed in the papers. It is meant to go to the bottom of it, and the nation in general is well disposed to lend us most cordial aid and approbation. We shall be able to show that the societies in question were well advanced and ripening to the introduction of the French horrors; and though

Hosted by Google

no persons of family or much consideration appear to have been connected with them, they are not the less dangerous for being beggars and adventurers. There is always some unforeseen incident to prolong the session; we have now no chance of a prorogation before the birth-day.

As to news, I know none. There are reports of very good news of the 10th from Flanders, and expectations of very good news from the fleet, and from the West Indies; but the events of war are so uncertain that I believe nothing till I know it positively.

Believe me, my dear Lord Henry, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

My dear Lord Henry, — I write these few lines on Friday morning, 30th May, at eleven o'clock, in the council-room. I go from hence to Hastings' trial at two, and at five to the House of Lords upon a motion to be made by the Duke of Bedford on the general state of the country, on which there probably will be a debate till two o'clock in the morning. Our session is prolonged by the course of these inquiries into the late treasonable practices. We have committed eight persons to the Tower on charges of high treason, and seven more to Newgate on suspicion of treason. Several more remain to be examined. It appears that this business of Jacobinism was connected with all the seditious clubs in Scotland and in Ireland. It was taken at the right time, and is no longer dangerous. The country in general, in a proportion of at least ten to one, is sound and loyal.

There is no news yet from Flanders of a later date than the 26th, nor any news from sea, though it is certain that the French fleet is out of Brest, that Lord Howe's fleet is out also, and that the great French fleet from Chesapeak is expected from day to day. It is an anxious moment. The state of Italy is

Hosted by Google

alarming. Piedmont is in danger of being overrun. But all this changes every hour by the multiplicity of events. I understand that Lord Grenville is about to write to you on your own movements. All well at home.

I am, my dear Lord Henry, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Mr. Craufurd to Lord Auckland.

Brussels, June 3rd, 1794.

My Lord,—I have had the honour to receive your Lordship's letter of the 27th May. Since mine of the same date, the departure of the Emperor which was then whispered has been announced, and has produced great consternation throughout the country in general. Without entering into the reasons that may have induced him to go away, I shall only say, that it is unfortunate that he should be obliged to quit his army at such a crisis, and leave his country already invaded, and still more seriously threatened by the enemy. The late repulsive successes have but served to check their progress; they will probably return to the charge, and nothing can put this country in a state of security, and restore the campaign, but being able, very speedily, to resume offensive operations.

The Emperor is going to visit the army upon the Sambre; from thence he is to come to Brussels, where he proposes to stay about a week, then go and visit the army of the Duke Albert, and from thence to Vienna. Mack is now with the Emperor. You will have heard that he has resigned the office of Quarter-master-General, and been succeeded in it by the Prince of Waldeck. Trautsmansdorff is to remain here, but I imagine not for any length of time. Thugut is to return immediately to Vienna.

The Emperor proposed to invest M. de Mercy with powers of the most ample kind, but which, I understand, he declines to accept, and prefers to remain

Hosted by Google

nearly in the situation he held before,—a kind of censor. The commander-in-chief of the army is to correspond with him, inform him of all that happens and is proposed. Trautsmansdorff and Metternich are to do the same, in as far as regards what they are intrusted with, and he is to give them his advice when he may think it necessary to do so. With an exceeding good judgment, much knowledge, experience, and application to business, he perhaps wants the energy that the present circumstances require. He is capable of going boldly forward, when there is a man of strength to go along with him, but he will rarely venture, alone and in his own name only, to decide upon any measure of importance. Yesterday, in a conversation with a person in whom he places confidence, he acknowledged that he should have had no objection to accept of the powers that were offered to him, if one on the part of England were to be joined with him with similar powers, and, in pursuing the subject, mentioned your Lordship, with expressions of very great esteem and regard, as the person with whom, in that case, he should wish to be associated.

I can easily conceive that your Lordship may have great repugnance to such a mission,—family considerations alone may be, undoubtedly, sufficient to make you turn away from it; but if ever there was a time that demanded the sacrifice of private considerations to the public welfare, it is surely the present moment. I have often said, and I now repeat, my Lord, that affairs here require not only a watchful eye, but sometimes a directing hand. Such a commission would very much tend to obtain the confidence of the country; and this country is capable of great exertions, but these exertions will never be made until the people have confidence in the measures that are to be pursued, and until those who have the direction of them show that they have confidence in the people. Should what I have suggested take place, your Lordship and Lady Auckland may be very well

Hosted by Google

accommodated here, and, happen what will, you have always a retreat open by Holland, either by Antwerp or Maestricht.

It is expected that the Austrians will to-day attack the enemy upon the Sambre, and as much may depend upon the fate of this battle, we are not without a considerable degree of anxiety.

I have the honour to be, with very great sincerity and attachment, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and obedient humble servant,

QU. CRAUFURD.

Lord Henry Spencer to Lord Auckland.

Stockholm, June 10th, 1794.

My dear Lord,—I believe I told you that I had been making the tour of the mines. I went down the copper mine at Fahlen, which is about eleven hundred feet deep. It is a very good thing for a man to do once in his life. The total want of night has a very odd effect here, and would be delightful if the weather was warm, but as yet we have hardly had a day when we could venture out without a good great coat.

You will have heard that Armfeldt has made his appearance at Petersburg. His correspondence has been published here, and is perfectly satisfactory as to proving his intentions, which were, as he expresses it, to *bleed* some of the principal persons in power, and to put himself and his friends in their places, with certain changes of government, under the protection of a Russian fleet, which was to come up within forty miles of Stockholm.

The Swedish squadron is to sail for Copenhagen on the 15th.

Pray remember me to Lady A. and the rest of your family, and believe me, my dear Lord,

Very faithfully yours,

H. SPENCER.

Hosted by Google

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Beckenham, June 13th, 1794.

My dear Lord Henry,—Whilst this whole country is intoxicated with joy by the glorious news of Lord Howe's most important and most glorious victory, Lady Auckland and I are suffering a severe affliction in the loss of our dear Henry*, who died at one o'clock this morning of a fever which baffled every effort of medicine;—he died at Mitcham. We attended him through the whole and to the last, and have been so little hitherto in the school of sorrows, that we are quite knocked up by it. We try not to have favourites, but his character had during some months taken a most engaging turn, with extreme gaiety and manliness of mind far beyond his age (which he retained with his senses most affectingly to the last moment), and he was an object of fond speculations to us and to all who approached and saw him. We must reconcile ourselves by the recollection that we retain our full proportion of blessings. Our girls behave delightfully on the occasion, and have taught Lady Auckland to shed tears, which she was unable to do till she saw them. It is hard to lose children after having carried them through so many countries and climates. Mr. Garlike will be sorry for this. My next letter shall be less egoist.

Yours affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

(Private.) Downing Street, June 30th, 1794.

My dear Lord,—The considerations stated in your letter which I received this morning are objects of serious and anxious reflection under the present circumstances. The embarrassment is, I fear, increased

* Born at Paris, 1786.

Hosted by Google

by the Prince of Coburg having also been obliged to retreat towards Brussels, leaving Charleroi to its fate; but the account which comes from Mr. Bruce at Brussels gives no particulars. There can be no doubt of the means, if properly exerted, of maintaining, at the worst, the line of defence you mention; and if the spirit of the public here, and of our allies, is kept up, the tide may soon be turned. At all events, no effort on our part must be omitted. If I find an interval of a whole day for Holwood, I shall endeavour to call upon you.

I am, my dear Lord, yours very sincerely,

W. PITT.

P.S.—Lord Moira's* force has infused fresh spirit into the quarter where he is, and, if the chances turn out not unfavourably, may lead to some material good effects. Since writing this I am sorry to say there is a confirmation of the Prince of Coburg having failed in his attack †, and of the loss of Charleroi.

* Lord Moira had marched from Ostend with 7000 men to join the Duke of York.

† On the 26th of June—the battle of Fleurus, which decided the fate of the campaign.

Hosted by Google

CHAP. XXXII.

Disappointment in England.—Coalition of Government and the Portland Party.—Retreat of the Austrian Army.—Disgust of the Officers at the Conduct of the Prince of Coburg.—A Claim for a Living.—Fall of Robespierre.—Surrender of Condé and Valenciennes.—"Ministers all in the Country."—Death of Count de Mercy.—His Character.—Lord Sheffield and Hayley.—The Conferences at Vienna.—Removal of the Prince of Coburg.—Conduct of the King of Prussia.—Disorganisation of the Austrians.—Suspicions of Treachery.—Letter from Stockholm. — The Prussian Subsidy suspended. — Recall of Lord Malmesbury.—Pitt and the Portlands.

Sir Gilbert Elliot to Lady Auckland.

Corti, June 29th, 1794.

My dearest Eleanor, — I write this line merely to beg four of your *widest smiles* to my four Corsican friends; they can tell you everything that relates to me, public and private, especially Mr. Pietri, who has been spouting Italian poetry with me this last month, along the banks of the prettiest rivers I ever saw, except the Teviot and Sir Peter Burrell's. I really hope they will see Beckenham.

Believe me ever, my dearest Eleanor, your most affectionate

Gilbert Elliot.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

(Private.) Beckenham, July 10th, 1794.

My dear Lord Henry,—I believe that my last was dated on the 20th June: from that day to the present I never have been farther from this place than occasionally to Lord Hawkesbury's, Lord Lewisham's, Sir P. Burrell's, &c. I have had, indeed, more informa-

Hosted by Google

tion than was pleasant of what was going forward at home and abroad, but I had nothing to transmit to you that would not have been stale before I could send it.

This country is much dejected by the calamitous turn of the campaign; but the necessity of perseverance is generally felt, and it is hoped that something unforeseen may occur to preserve us from the precipice to which all Europe (Sweden and Denmark included) is rapidly tending.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Pitt, with a view to strengthen Government, has given up a great share of the cabinet and of administration to the Portland party*; and certainly the times are such that any personal sacrifice ought to be made that may give the vessel a chance of riding in safety through the storm. That consideration makes me look with great complacency to an arrangement to which otherwise I might have felt no unreasonable objections, but in other respects I conceive the experiment to be hazardous, and likely to end in disgusts and disappointments. I am sick of coalitions, royal, military, or ministerial. You will receive an official account of particulars by to-morrow night's post, with the speech on the prorogation.

I do not like that you should be so long at so great a distance from England; but your situation daily occurs to me, and makes a part of our conversations, and though I could be heartily glad to see you here, I think it better for you that you are absent, and, above all things, that you are neither with the Prussian army nor at the Court of Prussia. Lord Malmesbury has done you a kind office unintentionally, and has brought himself into a ministerial predicament, for the pains and vexations of which no emoluments can indemnify him. I am most sincerely rejoiced that you are out of the scrape. It is, however, time that your diplomatic line should be settled, or, if not, that you should

* The Duke of Portland became Home Secretary; Lord Spencer, Privy Seal; Mr. Windham, Secretary-at-War.

Hosted by Google

be permitted to come home. I may mention to you in confidence, that my brother wishes to renounce the Spanish embassy and to return to Vienna in the same character as heretofore; and as it is not likely that Lord Hertford should now wish to go to Vienna, I imagine that this will take place.

If you ever have an occasion, pray send or bring to me a complete set of the papers relative to Armfeldt's strange business.

Lady Auckland desires to be very kindly remembered to you. Her spirits have suffered much by poor Henry's death; but she and the girls are at this moment giving tea on the lawn to Lord and Lady Beverley* and their family, and to Mr. and Mrs. Bennet and theirs, with the addition of tame lambs, turkeys, peacocks, bantams, ducks, doves, dogs, &c., &c.

Believe me, my dear Lord Henry, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Mr. Craufurd to Lord Auckland.

Aix-la-Chapelle, July 20th, 1794.

My Lord, — I had the honour to write to your Lordship from Spa on the 8th. I arrived here on the 12th. Since then an immense number of waggons have passed, conveying the hospitals and heavy baggage of the Austrian army to Cologne and Dusseldorff. M. de Mercy went through early this morning going to Bonn. Most of the emigrants that were here, and many of the principal inhabitants, are gone away; alarm and consternation seem to be spread over the whole country, and what increases the anxiety is that many of the late events, and that apparently settled maxim of retreating, cannot be accounted for either by the force or skill of the enemy.

It is not at present hazarding much to say, that confidence in the abilities of the commander-in-chief,

* Lady Beverley and Mrs. Bennet were sisters of Sir Peter Burrell.

Hosted by Google

and in those who advise him, is nowhere to be found. The language of many of the officers would, in less distressful circumstances, be considered as highly indecent; at present it seems to be regarded as the ebullition of an honest indignation. An unhappy idea seems to prevail pretty universally, that the secrets of the campaign have been betrayed by some one who had access to know them. Whoever lay under the smallest suspicion, should certainly have been removed; but I believe that no inquiry was made, and those who were suspected remained.

I enclose your Lordship a note from Bonn of the 17th, and an extract of a letter from Mannheim of the 16th. It appears that the enemy mean to penetrate into Treves if possible.

I have the honour to be, with the most sincere attachment, my Lord, your Lordship's faithful and obedient humble servant,

QU. CRAUFURD.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Beckenham, July 27th, 1794.

My dear Lord Henry,—The last letter which I received from you was dated 4th instant. I was glad to remark in it that you were reinstated in your country-house; for in this moment of bustle and ministerial embarrassment, Lord Grenville's despatching of your lot in the line may not keep pace with your wishes. Six weeks have elapsed since I either saw him or heard from him. My opinion is, that if you do not hear soon, you should write to desire leave to come home; and that you should press it so as not to be locked up for another Swedish winter: when you get the leave to come home (which you should ask ostensibly as well as privately), you can make such *détours* as you may like, and when you are here your business may best be settled.

I often thank God that you did not go to Berlin when you were first named and wished to go: it has

Hosted by Google

been, by the necessity of events, a most uncreditable mission, and Lord Malmesbury, who liked to retain the responsibility of it, may better bear it than you.

I cannot write about news; it is unpleasant work, and in fact I know no more than you see in the newspapers. The Duchess of Gordon was reported to have said that before the end of this war the King would be in possession of every island in the world except Great Britain and Ireland. I do not think him at present likely to lose either of them; they are very stout and very steady at present, but the Continent seems to be in a very bad way,—however, even there I see no ground for despondency, unless we are to suppose that all the nations of Europe are infatuated, which I sometimes think they all are (Sweden and Denmark included).

Sir Gilbert Elliot has created a new kingdom* in this era of republicanism. Whether it will be more profitable to King George than it was to King Theodore is another question.

Lord Hertford certainly does not go back to Vienna. There are some reports that T. Grenville may choose to stay there. This would be hard upon the existing corps.

Believe me, my dear Lord Henry, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Sheffield Place, July 30th, 1793.

I am rather impatient to hear something of you, the lady, and the family, for of the public circumstances there is nothing good to be heard, and I do not see that the good people of England will have the cooling comfort of abusing ministers for the state of things, for what could they do more? They have sent the trusty and confidential Lord Spencer† and the

* In Corsica.

† Lord Spencer and Mr. Grenville were sent to Vienna in order to

Hosted by Google

intelligent Thomas Grenville to endeavour to do something. Perhaps the Lord Malmesbury unites more experience with good management. I do not know how you would like to be sent.

On my passage from your house to London I formed the last sentence of the report of the Exchequer Bill Commissioners, more to my satisfaction than I had been able to do before. There was a disposition to add some milk and water, &c., to the report, but I contrived to sign it nearly as you saw it. I presented it to Mr. Pitt on Friday; he said very little to it, and I journeyed to Sheffield Place on Saturday.

I called on all my old friends, the new coalisers, but did not see one of them. I could not observe that the addition to administration caused any sensation; but whatever may be said of the prudence or utility, it was surely an honest and manly step on the part of the new ministers. I am condemned to go to-morrow for three days to Lewes Races.

Yours ever,

SHEFFIELD.

Mr. Craufurd to Lord Auckland.

Bonn, August 8th, 1794.

My Lord,—Since I last had the honour to write to your Lordship I have resolved to stay here for a few weeks longer, instead of going immediately to the Hague, as by that time, I think, it must be decided whether the Prince of Coburg will *allow himself* to be forced across the Rhine. That the enemy will use their endeavours to accomplish this, as well as to get possession of Coblenz, is what may naturally be expected; but some good military judges pretend that it is very possible not only to prevent them, but even with exertion and good management to drive the enemy, and in a very short time too, within the limits of their own country. Yet we have seen so many

induce the Austrian Government to continue the war in the Netherlands.

Hosted by Google

unaccountable things of late, that I shall no longer be surprised at whatever may happen, however extraordinary it may be. It appears by the French papers, and by letters from the Low Countries, that the Prince of Coburg, for more than a month past, has been retreating, and abandoning some of the best military positions that are anywhere to be found, before an army less numerous than his own. As I formerly mentioned to your Lordship, he has fallen into such exceeding great contempt, both with the army* and the public, that it were better to replace him by a corporal than allow him to remain. It is not that he is merely a cipher, but he is the tool of every fool and every rogue who may choose to direct him.

Some of the superior officers cry out for the Marechal de Lascy, as the only person who is equal to the situation, and capable of thoroughly restoring the subordination and spirit of the army; but as they doubt the possibility of prevailing upon him to accept of the command, they allow that the only alternative that remains, in case of his refusal, is the nomination of the Archduke Charles, with Mack as his Quartermaster General.

The late proclamation† of the Prince Coburg, which probably your Lordship has already seen, has rather spread dismay than inspired confidence; he menaces people who have never offended, and speaks of the enemy in so formidable a shape, both as to numbers and resources, that to those who are unacquainted with the subject, must leave but little hope of overcoming them. Their numbers, I believe, are constantly exaggerated, and many of their resources they owe to

* In a letter written November 24th, 1794, to Lord St. Helens by Colonel Calvert, it stated, "The best officers of the Austrian army were *deeply disgusted*, the generality very much tired of the long, uninterrupted wars in which they had been engaged, and the whole regarding the possession of Flanders and Brabant as injurious to the real interests of the House of Austria."—*Calvert Correspondence*, p. 406.

† In this proclamation, Prince Coburg speaks of "the inexhaustible resources of France, its innumerable *cohorts*," &c.

Hosted by Google

him, in abandoning the rich Belgic Provinces with their uncommonly plentiful crops. He is a peculiarly unfortunate prince, both with his pen and sword. It is said that he is preparing another proclamation to explain this.

The inhabitants of these countries seem extremely well disposed to do, as far as they are able, whatever may be required of them. A plan has been proposed for arming a considerable body of them, and the Elector Palatine has been applied to, in order to have it extended to the duchies of Berg and Juliers. But this, like many other things that have been proposed, will produce nothing of consequence, unless that some one should stand forth and take the lead. The only person who from his birth and situation could properly do so, and who would probably do it with effect, is the Elector here. He has hitherto been very moderate, both in language and conduct, and his vigorous measures now would to many be a proof of their necessity, and an encouragement to exertion. Though he is exceedingly parsimonious and attentive to his own interests, the public think him a man of probity, and have a very favourable opinion of his judgment and abilities.

Several of the principal persons of the Low Countries are now here and at Cologne. The intelligence they receive confirms what we have seen in some newspapers with respect to the conduct of the French, who seem to be introducing into those provinces the same species of despotism that is exercised in France, besides occasionally treating them as a conquered country. They have laid the towns under heavy contributions, established the *maximum*, and the circulation of assignats, but which cannot be introduced into France, so that they thus rob them of their specie, and whatever they have occasion for, by giving them paper that is only transferable among themselves.

Though the people are exceedingly discontented, and even disposed to proceed to violence, yet if the French

Hosted by Google

are allowed to remain there for some months undisturbed, the multitude will be debauched, while the country will be exhausted. The most stubborn Fleming, and dullest German peasant, has conception enough to comprehend, and vanity enough to be pleased with what is held out to him under the words "Liberty and Equality." The latter would be delighted at the idea of having it in his power to kill the game, cut down the woods, and give the Baron *cent coups de bâton*, instead of receiving them. In England you may speak with the voice of reason, and you will be listened to and understood; but here, to argue would be dangerous, — indeed there are many things that will not bear argument, because many grievances really exist, — but in the present circumstances, the wisest method, I believe, would be to make the situation of the peasants easier by degrees, but without discussing the subject, or, if it were possible, speaking of the French at all.

If the present spirit of the people of the Low Countries be encouraged, — that is, if they are told, and if they see that they will be speedily supported, — I really believe that in a very few weeks a much more formidable *Vendée* would rise up there than the one which now seems to be extinguished. The bourgeois and some of the lower classes of the people have begun to emigrate; but not like the French — people running away in a fright, without a plan. The Flemings come away in the hope of speedily going back again, to avenge their wrongs and drive the enemy out of their country. It would perhaps be a useful measure to have some of the principal nobility of the country stationed either at one of the armies or some place in their neighbourhood, to receive and form into corps, such as might choose to come and bear arms, *for the purpose of expelling the enemy from the Belgic Provinces*. Many would repair to them on those terms, that would neither enlist as soldiers, nor enrol themselves for an unlimited period; but once engaged it would be no difficult matter to prevail upon them to

Hosted by Google

continue until the war was at an end. The enemy once expelled from the Low Countries, the first object that would occur, would be the reduction of Lille, without which there is no security for them. And all the proprietors of land and wealthy inhabitants of Flanders were so sensible of the necessity of this measure, and had it so much at heart, that many of them have told me that there was no assistance that they would not readily have granted towards its accomplishment that could reasonably have been demanded of them. The expense of the corps I have mentioned would only be such as might be necessary to arm and subsist them. Those who would be at their head would be above receiving any pay or emolument for themselves. The Prince Auguste d'Arenberg (Comte de La Marck), and the Duc d'Ursel, who have both served with credit, will, I am persuaded, be ready to do whatever may be pointed out to them, and La Marck now writes to the Count de Mercy on this subject.

I continue to send my letters under cover to Mr. Rose, but if there be any indiscretion in this, I hope your Lordship will have the goodness to inform me. I beg of your Lordship to do me the honour of presenting my best respects to Lady Auckland, and of believing me, with great attachment, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

QU. CRAUFURD.

Lord Auckland to Lord Loughborough.

Beckenham, August 10th, 1794.

My dear Lord,—The Duke of Marlborough writes, "I wish very much to have the enclosed shown to the Chancellor." I presume that his object in sending it to me was to save to you or to himself the trouble of writing. I therefore think it best to forward the letter. If you do nothing in it, silence will be the best answer. If Mr. Cake should have success, you can have a line written to Brighthelmstone, where the

Hosted by Google

Duke will be next week. Mr. Cake's claim is, that Judith Cake, his wife, is a third cousin of John, Duke of Marlborough: this pretension under a revolutionary government would send him to the guillotine; but under the existing hierarchy it is a meagre title to a benefice.

I could say much on the composition, acting, interests, incidents, and possible catastrophe of our political drama; but I recollect that I am neither a composer, actor, prompter, nor even a candle-snuffer in the theatre; and I have no disposition to become a critic even if I saw grounds for criticism. I endeavour to turn my mind from the subject; but it forces itself occasionally on every hour of the twenty-four.

Believe me, my dear Lord, ever most sincerely yours,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Beckenham, August 14th, 1794.

My dear Lord Henry, — I can tell you nothing more than the public papers contain, for I never quit this place: I write few letters; I visit the small works going forward on my farm and in the neighbourhood; I pursue a disjointed sort of reading in the library; I ride, and walk, and swing with my daughters; and I play at skittles, and pick fruit, and take wasp-nests with my sons; and I act as coachman when Lady Auckland goes out in the phaeton; and one day is so like another, that if there were no Sundays, I should know no difference. It is perhaps no great personal calamity that this sort of existence is chequered by domestic anxieties and by political chagrin. If it were otherwise, and if there were no wars, confusions, sicknesses, or dangers, I should glide on to my grave too fast and too imperceptibly.

We have the driest and hottest season ever known; but though the times are sterile in some respects, you see that they have produced a plentiful crop of peers.

Hosted by Google

Welbore Ellis* never would believe that the American Colonies could be lost. From the long list of remainders for which he has now provided, he seems to be equally sanguine respecting the eternal duration of the English aristocracy. I hope that he is right, and in the mean time I am very glad that Lord Clifden is at the head of the list.

The boys have their long vacation at present, and seem to be doing well.

I had a letter, two or three days ago, from the Duke, to ask "whether we should ever meet again." I answered, that I did not know; but that Lady Auckland and I often lamented the unavoidable circumstance that twelve months could have elapsed without our seeing him, though always within an easy day's journey. I sometimes think that the hermit life which he leads is sensible, *with the advantage of a numerous family*,—at least I could easily reconcile myself to it; but then the family must be kept in a state of cheerfulness and contentment.

My brother Morton is at Brighthelmstone, waiting till something is decided as to Corsica.

I say nothing of politics. I believe that we have taken the French force in the West Indies; but all those distant advantages avail nothing so long as the armies of Barère and Robespierre are triumphant on the Continent.

No more at present. Believe me, my dear Lord Henry, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Loughborough to Lord Auckland.

Hampstead, August 19th, 1794.

My dear Lord, — The display of the infamy of the neutral powers ought to be published in all languages, and is much fitter for insertion in our papers than the wretched political disquisitions they

* Created Lord Mendip August 13th, 1794.

Hosted by Google

contain. The late events* at Paris afford only an additional proof that all energy and spirit are extinct in that very active city, except for criminal ends. In every one of their revolutions, the most daring villains have ever been successful, and draw the populace to their side from the 14th July, 1789, to the last scene of havoc. To surpass the cruelty of Robespierre seems scarcely possible; but his successors are not likely to be more humane, nor will they for the present be less powerful. I hope, however, with you, that this internal confusion will tend to perplex their external operations, and afford some space for the slower movements of regular governments. Your old acquaintance, M. de Mercy †, has been seriously ill since he landed. I wish he had brought your correspondent ‡ with him, whose ideas seem very just, particularly as to the change of the commander, without which no advantage can be expected from any circumstances that fortune can afford us.

I finished my business at Lincoln's Inn on Saturday last, but I have still to undergo a long attendance on a prize cause this week, for which I am very unfit, having almost lost the two very useful habits of eating and sleeping.

I ever am, my dear Lord, yours affectionately,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

Lord Auckland to Lord Loughborough.

Eden Farm, near Bromley, August 22nd, 1794.

My dear Lord,—In studying the history of the last Paris revolution, I cannot yet find a clue to guide me through the labyrinth of Barère's conduct. He probably has no idea either of personal attachment, or of moral or political principles, and is guided only by the pursuit of influence and the sense of self-pre-

* The fall of Robespierre.

† M. de Mercy came to England in order to come to an understanding with respect to the further continuance of the war for the sake of the Netherlands.

‡ Mr. Craufurd.

Hosted by Google

servation. But though those ideas might account for his conduct, they would not explain the conduct of the other ruffians respecting him. Barère was apparently attached to Robespierre, even to the 27th July.

There is something comical in Robespierre's insinuations in his last speech, that he had lost all his influence, because he professed a belief in a Supreme Being.

It appeared clearly in evidence, that in all the late bloody executions, the list of the victims previous to the mock trial was adjusted with Robespierre. "*Lu et approuvé.*"

In a moral point of view, Robespierre's execution is a gratifying incident. As a mere politician, I rather wish that he and the commune had got the victory: it was more likely to have brought forward a decisive crisis.

We are sorry that you talk of a want of appetite and of sleep: personal exercise and mental idleness are the best remedies. I am pursuing the first with great success, and the other as much as I can.

Sir Gilbert Elliot has taken the trouble to write three letters, to me, to Lady Auckland, and to my eldest girl,—to entreat us to see much of the four Corsican deputies* at this place. It is painful to me not to obey him in this; but it is so totally out of my present system of life, that I do not know how to go about it. I feel more disposed to ask my old friend the Comte de Mercy † to pass some days here for the recovery of his health: I can give him ass's milk and excellent fruits in great abundance. I doubt, however, whether he could live a week out of politics, though every subject in which he has borne a part, from the death of the Empress Marie Thérèse to the present hour, has ended calamitously.

Believe me, my dear Lord, ever most sincerely yours,

AUCKLAND.

* It appears from a letter of M. Pietri, one of the Corsican deputies, that they met with a most hospitable reception at Eden Farm.

† The Comte de Mercy died in London on the 26th of August.

Hosted by Google

P.S. You will recollect what difficulty *we* had, in Lord George Gordon's mobs, to make the present commander-in-chief* feel the pressure of the danger and the necessity of acting.†

Lord Loughborough to Lord Auckland.

Hampstead, September 1st, 1794.

My dear Lord,—I am unfortunately circumstanced with respect to the living of Ashcomb; Lord Lisburne has asked for it, as the principal proprietor in the parish which joins to Mamhead. I had previously offered it to a friend and constituent of Mr. Cotes, who has waited long for a living, and I am now soliciting Cotes to give way to a very earnest application from Lady Bute‡, which I am very unwilling (as I ought to be) should fail of success. If Mrs. Cake had, on either this or the former occasions, been a little more early in her information, she would have relieved me very agreeably from all my difficulties, and I should have been happy to have obeyed the Duke of Marlborough's commands.

I wish I could place confidence in your speculation with respect to public affairs, in which I think we must expect many cross events, though I cannot allow myself to doubt that the result will at last be favourable. Everything in France is so evidently forced against the natural direction of every spring that moves the human mind, that the exertion must cease, if there is a resistance equal to check its momentary impulse. I have always believed that the delirium would cease where it began at Paris, and that whenever the capital was satiated with the various changes of misrule it would begin to feel the horror of anarchy. From the affectation of moderation § which the new

* Lord Amherst.

† London was saved from destruction by the courage of Lords Loughborough and Auckland.

‡ Lord Bute had been very kind to Lord Loughborough in early life.

§ The Reign of Terror was now at an end. The Jacobin Club was closed on September 8th.

Hosted by Google

government assumes, I predict that its destruction will be more speedy than that of the last, whether their external efforts are more or less successful.

I ever am, my dear Lord, yours very affectionately,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

Sir Morton Eden * *to Lord Auckland.*

Monday, 2 o'clock.

My dear Brother,—Since I sent away my letter of this morning by your caravan, I have learnt the melancholy news of the surrender of Condé and Valenciennes†, without firing a gun. The unhappy *émigrés* were left to their fate. This untoward event seems to render our retaining fee to the Austrians, for the purpose of a forward movement, in a great measure useless.

Tallien has denounced Barère, and the accusation having been rejected, we may probably soon hear of Tallien's death. The great powder-manufactory at Paris has blown up, and sixty or seventy of the workmen perished.

From Poland the accounts are unfavourable to the invaders: Prince Repnin had required M. de Fersen, who commanded a corps of 10,000 Russians, and which were acting with the Prussians, immediately to join him. His Prussian Majesty could but ill bear this diminution of strength.

The weather may be good for your farm, but, together with the bad news, it has an influence on my spirits.

Nothing new from Holland, except the happy arrival of their good ally the rain. The want of your abilities and activity is sincerely and universally felt.

The ministers are all in the country.

Adieu. Ever your obedient and affectionate

MORTON EDEN.

* Now in England.

† On the 30th of August. The Austrians, expecting to keep the fortresses, had expended much money in strengthening the defences.

Hosted by Google

I am told that Lord M.* will not even see M. Möllendorff, who is governed by Kalkreuth an arch-Jacobin.

The Primate of Poland is dead.

Mr. Craufurd to Lord Auckland.

Bonn, September 2nd, 1794.

My Lord, — A letter from M. de Woronzow to M. de Simolin of the 26th, and received here on the 31st August, informed us of the death of my respectable friend the Comte de Mercy. Besides the feelings produced by my personal attachment to him, I consider his death, at this time, as a great public misfortune, and fear that it will be productive of consequences that may not be immediately apprehended.

Your Lordship must have heard that the spirit of the Court, and even of the army, was against the war; that some of those who advise the Emperor thought it for the interest of the House of Austria to abandon the Low Countries altogether, and, withdrawing its armies beyond the Rhine, concentrate its force in the hereditary dominions. M. de Mercy, in combating this opinion, had to struggle against many difficulties; he had, however, surmounted them, and having placed Thugut in the post he now occupies, not only on account of his talents, but as one in whom he could confide, whatever respected the war, and who was entirely at his disposal. Whether T.† will maintain his situation, or, maintaining it, will adhere to *the opinions of his deceased patron*, are, I think, very doubtful points. I hope he will; but, with certainly good abilities, I do not believe that he possesses either the knowledge or extensive views of the Comte de Mercy.

M. de Mercy was the most pleasing when he entirely divested himself of his political situation. I know that many will say that this was incompatible with his character; but I think I have many proofs of the

* Lord Malmesbury. † M. Thugut.

Hosted by Google

contrary. He had an extraordinary degree of complacency and patience in discussing subjects, of which he was perfectly informed, with those whose information was certainly extremely inferior. I very seldom left him without having learnt something, and when he gave me his word, or assured me of anything, I never entertained a doubt of its being exactly as he had told me. The language and sentiments of his Court were, I believe, sometimes mistaken for his own, and I dare say that he sometimes thought it necessary or becoming to defend things that he privately condemned. I beg your Lordship's pardon for dwelling so much upon this subject, but, *la reconnaissance est bavarde*, and I certainly felt myself extremely obliged by the kindness he uniformly showed me, and the confidence he sometimes honoured me with.

With a letter that I wrote to your Lordship on the subject of employing the emigrants of the Low Countries, I sent one to the Comte de Mercy from La Marck, who wishes, in case it has not been delivered, to have it returned to him.

I have the honour to be, with great truth and attachment, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

QU. CRAUFURD.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Sheffield Place, September 5th, 1794.

I have nothing to communicate from hence, but I hope you have to say what I much wish to hear,—that Lady Auckland and your Catherine are well. I am very thankful for the lady's letter. I should have much pleasure in showing attention to her or hers. Aunt and Louisa continue at Tunbridge Wells, and are better. The Pelham family is expected here for a day or two the beginning of next week. When they are gone, Maria and I intend to reside at Tunbridge Wells.

Hosted by Google

I have been fully employed, the last ten days, with Mr. Hayley, in the examination of Gibbon's papers. I am much satisfied with the occupation, and it gave me much pleasure to observe that he treated the business exactly as had appeared to me most advisable, and I think I may venture to say that nothing is likely to appear that can disgrace Gibbon's literary fame, prejudice society, or disgust the public, but, on the contrary, that the public will be highly gratified. My ten days with Hayley have pleased me much. He appears to me an eminently amiable man.

As to public affairs, I trouble myself not about them, nor do those employed in them trouble themselves in any degree or shape about me. Not the least attention is paid to my trumpery application for an office of 50*l.* per annum, although I have been beast enough to repeat it several times.

I have hardly even looked in a newspaper for some time. There is nothing pleasant to hear.

Yesterday Mr. Secretary Douglas came here from Brighthelmstone, and is returned there again this day. It is curious that he seems to know nothing of the appointment of Lord Fitzwilliam to the Viceroyalty of Ireland. Hely Hutchenson is at the last gasp. I had a short letter from Pelham, dated four o'clock Saturday morning last, just as he was setting out for the army in Holland* with Windham on a business of ten days.

I rather wonder that ministers choose to plague themselves with Parliament so early as October. I can hardly think the attendance will be very numerous, or that I shall give myself the trouble of being there.

Yours ever,

SHEFFIELD.

* Mr. Windham and Mr. Pelham were on a mission respecting a change of command in the English army.

Hosted by Google

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Monday, September 8th, 1794.

My dear Brother,—On my table I found a letter from Mr. Stratton, which I enclose; it may, I think, be concluded from it that Mr. Grenville's mission will not be permanent; but, strange as it may appear, I believe that the Marquis of Hertford* has not yet withdrawn his pretensions, notwithstanding the nomination of the two commissioners at a moment that he was, to all intents and purposes, the Minister.† You will recollect that, in a letter from Brighton, I mentioned his having expressed his intention of spending there some time if he did not go again abroad, and our friend Mr. Aust intimated yesterday that he had not yet declared his intentions. As he loves to be dabbling, he may perhaps go, notwithstanding the humiliating circumstance for a much less considerable personage than the noble Marquis of having been set aside. He was particularly reserved with me, and did not even mention Vienna; as he saw my correspondence before he went to the army, perhaps he may have been displeased at my having discouraged the hopes he had confidently given of procuring a corps of 50,000 Palatine troops. If I remember right, the conditions were to be a subsidy of only 100,000*l.*, and a renunciation from the Court of Vienna of the exchange of the Low Countries for Bavaria;—this I obtained, and when I communicated it here, I added that the Elector, so far from being able to form so large a body of troops, could not even furnish his contingent to the army of the empire; and so it turned out to be. His Imperial Highness had long been in the habit of dividing with his minister the money granted by his States for the maintenance of the army.

The Marquis's *reticence* may perhaps account for

* Lord Yarmouth was now Marquis of Hertford.
† At Vienna.

Hosted by Google

Lord Grenville's not removing my suspense; and as the chances against me seem to be increased, I shall defer the purchase of horses and of such articles as I might want at Vienna, and which would not be useful at Madrid—whither, if the Vienna mission fail me, I conclude that I must go or give up all pretensions to a pension at the peace.

The conferences at Vienna go on amicably, though some apprehensions arise from Thugut's often dropping an indifference about regaining possession of the Belgic Provinces. I suppose he does this as a means to force us into the alliance, which has ever been and is the great aim of his administration, and on which, I believe, his fame and weight, as well with the Emperor as with his fellow-subjects, depend. You will know that we *have* sent through the Duke of York a supply of money for the immediate wants of the Austrian army — that Coburg is removed — that Clairfayt has succeeded to the command, with Beaulieu as *Quartier-maître Général*, and that the Duke is moving forwards to effect a junction with him. Le Quesnoy is, I fear, taken; the last accounts from Paris are of the 20th past, when the differences between Barère and Co. and Fallien and Co. seemed hastening to an issue.

I have heard it said that Mr. Windham's journey is relative to the Marquis of Cornwallis having a command; — but what can Mr. Pelham have to do in the business?

Lord Malmesbury complains much of the permanency of the Prussians, and finds out that he has been duped. He in vain urged Marshal Möllendorff to make an effort to save Trèves. Lucchesini*, I understand, on his arrival at Vienna endeavoured to create suspicions in the minds of Lord S. and Mr. G. of the Court of Vienna being desirous to make peace. Thugut possesses an ardent desire to continue the war, but bewails the penury of their means, and,

* Then Prussian Envoy at Vienna.

Hosted by Google

I believe, states the inutility of giving a subsidy to Prussia, who employs it to make new acquisitions in Poland, and intimates a wish that at the end of the year it should be transferred to Austria. His Prussian Majesty, as his excuse, laments the necessity of his taking a part in the Polish affairs, and has the impudence to complain of the tardiness of our remittances.

Our Indiamen (eighteen or twenty) are arrived, as is the news of Mr. Watt's conviction at Edinburgh, which will give some palpitations to the crew in the Tower.

Adieu! — I will now release you. Probably I have told you nothing that you did not know; but if the weather be with you as wet as it is here, you will have had time to read it. With every good wish to the ladies, believe me to be

Your obliged and affectionate brother,

MORTON EDEN.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Eden Farm, near Bromley, September 18th, 1794.

My dear Lord Henry,—I am sorry to remark that my last letter was dated so long ago as the 13th August; but as I have nothing to do I naturally grow idle. When I wrote last I was under some uneasiness respecting the state of Lady Auckland's health; she is since much improved in strength and in spirits. We amuse ourselves here in making small improvements in our grounds, in riding, walking, and reading, and with our phaeton, which carries six or eight. We have had a most pleasant summer in respect of weather, and very luxurious fruits; the figs and greengages were remarkably fine, and the grapes are now ripe on the open walls, and I pulled above 3000 peaches and nectarines as fine as I ever saw in Paris. We have avoided the having much company, and have declined all invitations from home; but we generally have the house full one or two nights in the week;

Hosted by Google

and we see enough both of English politicians and of foreign ministers to learn more than we wish respecting "the various turns of things below." Our four girls are growing into tall young women, and are pleasant companions to us. Two of them by turns ride every morning with me.

Having now given up one page to egoism, a part of the next shall go to tuism. Lady Auckland and I have persuaded ourselves from your letter that you are leading a life in which there is a prevalence of what is called by Blackstone "the whiling away a certain proportion of existence in a state of moral and mental inactivity," and yet we suspect that your time passes not unpleasantly. I am, however, impatient to see you take a new flight, and to have you once more engaged in the bustle of some efficient and interesting mission: not, however, without your making a previous visit to England for two or three months. Believe me that it is natural for you to come home from time to time to resume native notions and habits, native connections and native information. I see my brother Sir Morton in this country, after ten years' absence, bored to death by the English way of life, and attached to ideas of German cookery, German houses, German hours, and even German *châteaux*.

The moment for Lord Grenville making his proposed great arrangement is at hand, for the messenger went last Saturday with the final instructions to Lord Spencer and Mr. Grenville, in consequence of which they are expected in England in the middle of next month. I think I have confided to you that my brother wishes to return to Vienna. Lord Hertford certainly does not go back to the line, and I do not think it probable that Mr. T. Grenville will choose to enter into it. I have rejoiced most heartily that you did not go to Berlin when you were named; there would have been no credit, but much mortification, and some responsibility.

Many thanks to Mr. Garlike for copying those same

Hosted by Google

letters.* I shall be very curious to see them, and very glad to give them a place in my manuscript archives.

I conceive that you might with perfect propriety remark to Lord Grenville, in a private letter, that there is a very good *chargé d'affaires* on the spot in case of need. I told him so last year, and he then readily admitted, though it appears since to have escaped his recollection.

I should now say something relative to the affairs of the great world. It is a vexatious and unpromising history. We are now in the war like to a ship upon the sea without sails or rudder; we are without any system or plan, or means to attain a speedy and satisfactory conclusion; and it is possible that there may be a general shipwreck. In short, we are reduced to the chapter of chances, and many of the chances are against us. Still, however, I trust that we shall somehow get out of the scrape. If we gain time, we gain everything; for it is not in the nature of things that the monstrous exertion of France, which in all its parts is unnatural, should long be maintainable. We continue to complete the payments to Prussia, and Lord Malmesbury continues at Frankfort to solicit Möllendorff, Kalkreuth, &c., to give the *quid pro quo*.

I understand that our agreement with Austria is not for a subsidy,—that word, like the word "accommodated," is ruined by getting into villanous company,—it is to be a loan made to the Emperor's account, but guaranteed by our Parliament.

Our session, which begins on the 4th of November, will not be a pleasant meeting. I shall go to town the first day; but I do not mean to settle in London till after Christmas.

The Prince of Wales's marriage cannot be till various arrangements respecting his affairs have been made in Parliament. It is said that his debts are 800,000*l.*, and that he is to have 120,000*l.* a year. These same wastes, and the taxes to be imposed this year will be very heavy. But provisions are plentiful

* Respecting Armfeldt's plot.

Hosted by Google

in the country, the trade is immense, and the internal prosperity great, and the spirit of anti-Jacobinism as high as ever. I think that I have now given you a good long scrawl. Lady Auckland desires to be most kindly remembered.

Believe me, my dear Lord Henry, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

N.B. We were obliged to give a name to our place, to avoid the new penny post, which goes to Beckenham village.

Mr. Craufurd to Lord Auckland.

Bonn, September 23rd, 1794.

My Lord,—I wrote to your Lordship on the 9th, and a few lines upon the 21st. What I apprehended is come to pass; M. de Clairfayt is now in full retreat to cross the Rhine. I went yesterday to Cologne. Before I had reached the town, I saw an incessant march of waggons passing the river on a bridge of boats, which has been thrown over it, at some hundred paces this side of the town. On going on the road towards Juliers, I saw it, as far as the eye could reach, covered with baggage, — everything announced an army in *déroute*. The town was in that confusion that might be expected from such an event. I met there a general officer of my acquaintance, who has served with distinction. I learnt some curious circumstances, but of a nature not to be communicated in a letter by the post. The Elector, on hearing of the late disasters, set out from Munster to have an interview with Clairfayt. He was at the head-quarters yesterday, and is expected here to-day. Should I learn the result of the conference before the post goes, I will inform you of it. Some military men think, that, should Clairfayt be unable to maintain a position behind the Ruhr, he ought to march with his whole army towards Trèves, expel the enemy from thence,

Hosted by Google

establish a strong post at Coblenz, and the communication with Luxembourg. They say that by this and by augmenting the army in Holland to the utmost strength possible, the enemy would find themselves very much embarrassed, either in carrying on offensive operations in the United Provinces, or in advancing towards the Rhine. They would be between two armies, with a country behind them whose inhabitants, on the first favourable opportunity, would probably take up arms against them.

A spy who was taken on Sunday last at Juliers was yesterday hanged at Cologne. He was a native of Geneva; he had some letters concealed upon him, evidently written to persons with whom the enemy correspond, but without any address. I doubt much whether at the *quartier-général* they have light enough to discover who these are.

By the latest advices from Paris by way of the Low Countries, it appears that the *violent* party is again gaining the ascendancy, and the Jacobins recovering their power,—that the enemy mean to push their operations in Holland and towards the Rhine with the utmost vigour, and meditate some formidable enterprise in the West Indies.

I shall stay here as long as I possibly can. I then propose to go to Frankfort, to employ the rest of the fine season in visiting Vienna and some other places in Germany that I have not yet seen. Your Lordship will very much oblige me by having the goodness to procure or give me letters of introduction to our minister there, and at Munich and Dresden, and send them under cover to Messieurs Bethman, bankers, at Frankfort. I hope your Lordship will excuse the liberty I have taken, and believe me, with great attachment and respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and obliged humble servant,

Qu. Craufurd.

P.S. I have this instant received the enclosed note. I likewise send copy of another from the Count de Walstein.

Hosted by Google

Mr. Craufurd to Lord Auckland.

Bonn, September 26th, 1794.

My Lord,—I wrote to your Lordship on the 23rd. Yesterday General Claifayt moved his head-quarters from Mersch to Oberzier, to be nearer M. de la Tour, who has his head-quarters at Merzenich, about a league on this side of Duren. The Elector* has an officer stationed at the head-quarters of M. de Clairfayt†, and another with M. de la Tour, to send him, by hussars that are posted along the roads, immediate information of whatever happens. He says that Clairfayt continues to assure him that he will do his utmost, both to maintain his position and to bring the enemy to a general battle. But in the present circumstances, and after all that has happened, it is permitted to judge from what we observe as well as from what we are told; and I find that a thousand pioneers, and a great number of peasants, are sent to construct works for covering the entry to the bridge at Cologne, and that the *commissariat*, or those who are charged with the provision and management of the subsistence of the army, have received orders to pass the Rhine, and establish themselves *for the present* at Limbourg;—nevertheless, as I observed to your Lordship before, these may be nothing more than fit precautions. In December 1792, I saw Clairfayt's heavy baggage sent over the Rhine and soon afterwards brought back.

The enemy entered Aix-la-Chapelle on the 23rd. It appears, by a variety of reports, that a *very alarming discipline* is established in their armies. The most implicit obedience is exacted both from officers and men, and almost all officers are punished with death. An Austrian officer belonging to the garrison of Condé saw a French officer arrested, tried, and shot, for having quitted a camp near Tirlemont and gone

* Of Cologne.

† Clairfayt was totally defeated on the 2nd of October by Jourdan.

Hosted by Google

into the town, contrary to the general orders. This extraordinary degree of severity is as likely, however, to produce desertion and mutiny as order and settled discipline. The French, at no time, were capable of these; but, indeed, all that we have hitherto seen seems to be inverted.

I thought that the Jacobins were recovering their power, but it appears by the *Gazette des Deux Ponts*, that the Convention has again made an attack upon them, which I suppose will produce another scene of murder for the amusement of the *good people of Paris*, who were always the wickedest people in Europe.

I have the honour to be, with great truth and attachment, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and obliged humble servant,

QU. CRAUFURD.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Sheffield Place, October 2nd, 1794.

Do not discontinue your fragments. I have lately been in the neighbourhood of Eastbourne, flirting with fine ladies and the *ci-devant* Chancellor Thurlow. I expect the latter here after to-morrow. He makes himself very agreeable to everybody. The family of Pelham is gone from hence, Lord Pelham in great grief for his friend Mr. Milbanke, whose daughter Mrs. John Gage, is extremely ill, indeed, at Lord Gage's. My next move will be to a very amiable poet, (Hayley), in the west of this county, and not long afterwards I suppose I shall be dragged up to Parliament, much against the grain, to add one more vote to a great majority.

It must be very disagreeable to all honest Englishmen to hear of nothing but misfortunes, and yet not have a good opportunity of abusing ministers. *Il faut avouer* that the poor devils (for they are at present pitiable creatures) have been alert, and have done everything in their power in respect to pro-

Hosted by Google

moting a better warfare. They seem to have neglected nothing that could be done by negotiation and subsidy on the Continent, and if our allies had not been almost as great miscreants as our enemies, the French assuredly would not now be in so threatening a posture.

I hope the late vile weather has not disagreed with Lady Auckland, and especially with Miss Catherine. My Louisa is apparently stout.

Yours ever,

SHEFFIELD.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Eden Farm, near Bromley, October 6th, 1794.

My dear Lord Henry,—We have had abundance of mixed company here this last week; but I interrogate my recollection to no purpose. It furnishes nothing that can interest or amuse you. Men's minds are become gloomy; and that gloom, so far as the affairs of the Continent are concerned, is tending to a degree of despondency. In truth, all reasonings and all confidence are changed respecting military speculations by the numberless and strange defeats, treacheries, retreats, capitulations, incapacities and disgraces of the last four months.

In other points of view, our countrymen are stout, loyal, and full of energy, and if they should ever be driven to so calamitous an extreme as to leave the Continent to its fate, I have no doubt that they would rest with courage and effect on their insular and naval advantages, and would trust to time and Providence to disperse the chaos which is extending itself over the globe.

Lord and Lady Cholmondeley are to be of the Princess of Wales' family: I do not know the other appointments with any certainty. The debts are not (I believe) to be paid *en masse*, but a part of the additional income is to be set aside towards their gradual discharge.

Hosted by Google

Lady Auckland had a letter a few days ago from her brother* at Dresden, in which he says that having had occasion to go to a small and wretched hut in his neighbourhood, to hire it as a dog-kennel for his dogs, he found it already engaged for Lady A. and her new Lord, who are preparing to settle in it.

I do not yet learn that the diplomatic arrangements are settled; at least my brother has no intimation, and is with the Archbishop at Clandon Park (the seat of the latter), near Guildford. If Berlin should be proposed to you, I shall be sorry; and I think that without immediately rejecting it, you should in that case desire leave to come home for two or three months.

My best compliments to Mr. Garlike.

I am, my dear Lord Henry, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Henry Spencer to Lord Auckland.

Stockholm, October 10th, 1794.

My dear Lord,—Your long letter of the 18th of last month came to me like manna in the wilderness. You are not only the best correspondent I have in every point of view, but almost the only one. This, however, is the natural consequence of my secession from the habitable part of the globe.

I feel exactly as you do the necessity of making frequent visits to England, and Garlike and I have many conversations about it. One of the great objections to this place is that those who live there become every day more unfit to live anywhere else. If I had been losing my time in the same way in England, I should imperceptibly and in spite of myself have picked up an acquaintance with people and things, and have acquired a kind of knowledge and experience, which would have been of use to me in after life. But whenever I leave this country, my ac-

* Hugh Elliot.

Hosted by Google

quisitions will be as follows: A knowledge of things wholly out of the way, and incapable of being applied to any use. A stock of names of persons and places which I shall never hear pronounced again while I live. A great increase of shyness, aversion to large societies, and love of ease and retirement.

My summer was passed just as you and Lady Auckland supposed. I calculate that we travelled about fifteen hundred English miles, without any object but that of trotting along the high road, the journey to the mines excepted. I should have seen more of the world and got more good in a morning's ride from London to Brentford. All this, however, has been over some time. The cold weather has driven me from my wooden house, and we are returned to our winter regimen of billiards, whist, and punch.

I was surprised this morning by the arrival of two Englishmen, almost the first I have seen since I came into the country. The one is M. le Mesurier, brother of the Lord Mayor, and the other Mr. Douglas (son of Lord Douglas), with whom I was at school.

The business of the conspirators is at length finished, and without any bloodshed. Mlle. de Rudenschold has been exposed publicly on a scaffold with the executioner, and is now imprisoned for life. Ehrenström was taken to the place of execution, and saved his head by perpetual imprisonment. It is said that when he was condemned to be beheaded, it was hoped he would ask for mercy. A person in office was sent to him, to announce the day of his execution, and inquire whether he had any favour to ask, to which he replied: "I have nothing to ask, but that I may never see your face again," and immediately blew out the candle.

I do not well understand what is to become of me, for Lord Grenville writes me word that I shall be ordered to Berlin as soon as Lord Malmesbury leaves the army. You seem to think I may get first to England.

You mention having had three thousand peaches;

Hosted by Google

we have had just *three*, and very bad ones. There have, however, been plenty of currants, raspberries, strawberries, gooseberries, cherries, and so forth. In winter we have no vegetables but what are preserved in salt, which is a great grievance. The Swedes live almost entirely on salt meat and brandy. In consequence of this, they are very subject to the scurvy, and the peasants have all the itch to a man. It is literally true that when the workmen in the forges perspire very profusely, their shirts are covered with the salt that oozes out from their bodies. So much for the manners and customs of Sweden.

I remain, my dear Lord, ever faithfully yours,

H. J. SPENCER.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Eden Farm, Kent, October 20th, 1794.

My dear Lord Henry,—I wrote to you on the 9th of this month a sort of silversmith's letter: those small subjects of correspondence are become the pleasantest in these disastrous days. I have since received yours of the 23rd September. If I learn that you are immediately ordered to Berlin, and that Mr. Garlike remains behind you at Stockholm, I will execute your commission as well as I can; but my hope is that in the result you may not go to Berlin, to which mission the eye of my mind looks with no predilection.

I find that Lord Spencer and Mr. Grenville are expected to arrive in England in a few days; and I expect on their arrival that Lord Grenville will make his foreign arrangements. I think I have told you that Sir Morton Eden has desired to return to Vienna: that mission also is become much less eligible by the turn which affairs have taken. Whilst the Austrian Cabinet were discussing with us the conditions of the aid to be furnished, they seem to have lost the

Hosted by Google

means of furnishing any aid, and I presume that the negotiation will be unproductive to all the parties concerned in it.

The payments of the Prussian subsidy had been suspended after paying 1,200,000*l.* for nothing; an instruction is now gone to Frankfort to authorise Lord Malmesbury* to renew the payments if the Prussians will move immediately to the aid of Holland, and W. Elliot is gone to Brunswick to offer a subsidy and the chief command to the Duke.† If these negotiations should be successful, I cannot foresee how far they may do good; but certainly they will not give any immediate consolation or confidence to the public. With respect to Holland, I conceive that the fortresses on the Outre-Meuse (Maestricht, &c., &c.) will all be taken, as they are left without support; but they ought to hold out some weeks. It is possible that the French may penetrate into Guelderland, and even into part of Utrecht; but I believe the provinces of Holland, Friesland and Zealand, to be quite invulnerable if we make reasonable exertions and even a moderate use of our land and water preparations and advantages, all which are infinitely beyond what they were at the time of Dumouriez's invasion. Under what circumstances the next campaign is to open, God knows. The meeting of Parliament will be comfortless, and I shall go to it with great disrelish. Your mission during the last twelve months has been the pleasantest, and at least as creditable as any other.

I often hear from Blenheim, and with expressions of much concern that we never meet. I couldnot have gone to Blenheim this year, from various domestic considerations; but in truth I have never been asked.

Believe me sincerely and affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

* On the 24th of October Lord Malmesbury was recalled by Lord Grenville.

† This offer was declined.

Hosted by Google

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

October 22nd, 1794.

My dear Auckland,—I learn that a rupture may very possibly happen between Pitt and the Portlands (my information is not from authority). As I understand the business, when Pitt gave away Ireland to his Grace, he understood he was to be despotic Lord,—to appoint Lords Lieutenant to correspond with him only; to transact all Irish business directly with the King without the interference of Mr. Pitt; that he proceeded accordingly, as you know; that Pitt let him go on until last Monday se'nnight, when an explanation took place, much anger ensued, and a negotiation has been going on ever since, which, as I suppose, is not at this time successful; for Parnell* saw Grattan yesterday, who told him they had all been duped, and ill used; that the Ponsonbys were outrageous, and he very angry; that they and the Portlands were now a united and compact body, to stand or fall together; that no satisfactory plan had been proposed, and that the Duke of Portland and Lord Fitzwilliam had been basely used, and if things remained so, they would go into the most thorough opposition in Ireland, and stop at nothing. They are so violent (except Grattan, who says he wishes to serve Government if they satisfy these men, and give him ground), that nothing will content them which common sense can give, so that if the Portlands are fools enough to give way to them,— and I fancy they are pretty good matches for each other,— there will be a breach before Parliament. I mention this to you that you may look about;— you see my authority. The Ponsonbys, Grattan, Lord Fitzwilliam, &c., have meetings every day at the Duke of Portland's.

Yours, &c.,

J. Beresford.

* Sir John Parnell, father of the first Lord Congleton.

Hosted by Google

Lord Auckland to Mr. Beresford.

Eden Farm, October 23rd, 1794.

My dear Beresford,—I am sorry to hear that you have had an attack,— the more reason for your coming here to-morrow till Monday; you shall be very quiet. The circumstances you confide to me are very curious. I have said we are like the man in the nightmare we feel the weight and horror, and yet sleep on.

The scramble of the Portland set is all in that style. They look with horror towards Jacobinism, but in the mean time they are absorbed in the old and sleepy game of patronage, in the pursuit of which they are at this instant risking the convulsion of Ireland, after having brought themselves into office upon a plan and system, in which there is neither sense, decency, nor probable efficiency.

My heart aches for Mr. Pitt in all this; he has great qualities in his own mind, and has vast remaining means to get the country out of a dreadful scrape, but he is bewildered and lost in the manner in which he has constituted his government, and we and our children will sink with him into the abyss. Do not persuade yourself that this prediction is splenetic; it is most likely to be speedily verified. Even our friend Rose, who has a cool head and excellent sense, is shutting his eyes to the dangers which are over us. More of other matters when we meet. I suspect Agar * will carry his point. †

Yours ever affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Eden Farm, October 30th, 1794.

My dear Lord Henry, — Your letter of the 10th instant amused us much, and gave us a perspicuous notion of the sort of life which you are leading.

* The Archbishop of Cashel. † For the Primacy.

Hosted by Google

Stale and unprofitable as it may be, I cannot feel sorry that you have been thus *put out of the world* during twelve months of multiplied disgraces, distresses, and dangers in every circumstance connected with ministerial duties and the public interests.

The greffier* is hourly expected in England. Strong hopes are now entertained that Holland may be defended, at least for the present; but I shall know more when I have seen him, and I will then write to you. At any rate, I conceive that many of the Dutch fortresses and some of the Dutch provinces will be lost. It seems to be thought that the Duke of Brunswick will accept the command. The meeting of Parliament is not to be postponed; I shall therefore go to town, about the 24th November, for three weeks. Lord Spencer is not yet come; as soon as he arrives, or a few days afterwards, the diplomatic arrangements will, I presume, be declared. It is among the comical results of the times; but I suppose that my anti-Jacobin feelings require me to feel glad of the Russian successes against Kosciusko. We are leading a quiet, rational life here, with company enough to preserve us from growing savage.

Yours very affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

* M. Fagel.

Hosted by Google

CHAP. XXXIII.

An autumn Day at Beckenham.—Horne Tooke at the Old Bailey.—The great Coffee Question at Stockholm.—Lord Sheffield's Marriage.—Lord Auckland's Minutes.—Lord Henry Spencer leaves Stockholm.—A King's Present.—The French invade Holland.—Flight of the Orange Family.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Eden Farm, November 10th, 1794.

My dear Lord Henry, — I write this short scrawl at nine o'clock on a beautiful autumn morning; the sky blue, the woods yellow, and the lawn green. I was up before daylight. The two boys (William and George) breakfasted at my fireside whilst I was dressing, and were then sent off in the phaeton to school, with various baskets of pears, apples, and everything that they could beg, borrow or steal, during the last two days. At eight I breakfasted with the ladies, and I have just put Lady Auckland, and Catherine, and Charlotte into a post-chaise; they are gone to Lambeth, and to electricity, which seems to have restored health and good looks to Catherine. As soon as this scrawl is finished, I am going with Caroline to the fruit-house, and also to cut grapes, and to give orders for the preparations of the next two days, as we are expecting to-morrow till Thursday the Archbishop's family, and Mr. Rose's family, and the Bishop of Rochester, and Mrs. Horsley. I shall next go for half an hour with Louisa, Charles, and Mary into the shrubbery, where we are employing people to cut out decayed branches, and to cut down some sick trees. At half-past eleven I am to ride out for two hours with Eleanor, and to visit the works and improvements,

Hosted by Google

which are considerable, in the neighbouring lawn (Sir P. Burrell's), and so material to us that they interest us. At two I shall take my walk through the grounds. At four we shall dine; and the ladies will proceed through the evening with their music, drawing, reading, &c., and I shall amuse myself among my papers.

I was determined to give you this statement of our day, in order to avoid other subjects, or at least not to leave much room for them. The anxiety as to Holland is still great. It is possible that Nimeguen may stop the progress of the enemy till the winter is over; but Maestricht must fall unless relieved; and how can that be done?—and Breda too, and then, &c. You see that the electoral Courts at the Diet are desiring the mediation of the neutral Courts! I have reason to know that Sir Morton Eden's return to Vienna was last week formally notified by Lord Grenville to Stahremberg; but Lord Grenville has not yet sent to him, and Lord Malmesbury has got the appointment to bring a princess, in which he will have better success than in bringing a Prussian army. I think, therefore, that you will this week hear from Lord Grenville. I understand that it is proposed to one of your sisters to be bridesmaid at the royal marriage, and I do not know whether it is yet accepted. We shall go to town on the 25th, the day of the meeting of Parliament.

Compliments to Mr. Garlike. Believe me, my dear Lord Henry, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Baron Hotham to Lord Auckland.*

London, November 15th, 1794.

My dear Lord,—I have been working single-handed at the Old Bailey, at the ordinary sessions. At eight o'clock on Monday morning we proceed, under the special commission, to the trial of Horne Tooke, who

* One of the Barons of the Exchequer.

Hosted by Google

asked the Sheriffs yesterday, when they went to visit him, that he might be invited to dine up stairs with the Lord Mayor and Judges on the day of his acquittal. Free and easy! He has no doubt of his acquittal, nor have I, after Hardy's. I wish you would come to town, and try if the country can be saved. Ministry do not or will not know what men in more subordinate situations, and whose connections mix them more generally among people, cannot but know, that the republican spirit is growing dreadfully among all ranks and descriptions of men. Ministers never mix but with those who think with them, or who flatter them; and they do not hear and see what is doing in any other circle. But, depend upon it, democracy is taking long and hasty strides.

As to our continental situation, it is too dreadful to think of. I heartily wish, too, that ministers knew the united sense of the whole army. If they saw only the letters of any one mail, I think they would not hesitate an hour in what ought to be done. The French are beginning to be moderate: why not embrace the opportunity, before we are absolutely and altogether sacrificed to the weakness or the perfidy of our allies? To think of going on, is neither more nor less than madness in the extreme.

For God's sake, do you go to Paris, and do more for your country than any man ever did. Save it, if it can be saved. A little more, and the French successes will drive them to madness. A French prisoner was brought to my son the other day at an advanced post, where he commanded, and after a little conversation, the dog concluded, with all the fury and enthusiasm of an enraged democrat, "Ah ça! citoyen, pour la mort, à la bonne heure! mais pour la paix, *jamais.*"

Having now disburthened myself a little of the load which cannot but weigh most heavily upon every man who loves his country and his family, is Lady Auckland well, and is Catherine better? My female corps is left in the country. God knows in spirits

Hosted by Google

low enough; our private stake of brothers, sons, and nephews is too deep to admit of their being otherwise.

Adieu, my dear Lord, and again I implore you, *go to Paris.*

Yours ever,
B. H.

Lord Henry Spencer to Lord Auckland.

Stockholm, Nov. 17th, 1794.

My dear Lord,—A club was established here about eight years ago by the foreign ministers, who afterwards admitted some Swedes as honorary members, and have since allowed a certain number of them to vote, though they have kept to themselves the sole direction. The house where they meet, and the servants whom they employ, have been always exempt from the usual contributions, and the police have never been allowed to enter there. In the time of my predecessor, the then Secretary of State wrote him a formal note to obtain the permission of the ministers that the *maître d'hôtel* of the society might be allowed to appear before the police on an affair which did not regard the ministers. By this step the rights of the Diplomatic Club were solemnly recognised. A few weeks ago, however, in consequence of coffee being given at the club, an article which was forbid in this country by a late edict, the successor of that very *maître d'hôtel* was ordered before the police, without any application being made to the ministers, and was forbid to give coffee there, *even to the ministers themselves*, under pain of the house being shut up. In consequence of this, a short note was written, and signed by all the ministers except the Dutch Minister, who is not a member, and by the secretaries and other persons attached to the different missions. In this note the Chancellor was informed of the step that had been taken, and a hope was expressed that some reparation would be made. To this note *no* answer was returned, and the Chancellor, in separate conferences

Hosted by Google

appointed on purpose, informed us all that the King was offended in the person of the Chancellor at the note he had last received, and that complaints would be immediately made against us at all our different Courts. He added many violent expressions, and concluded with asserting that the rights of ministers did not extend beyond their private houses. We then wrote a second note, expressing our extreme regret at having offended his Majesty, and at the same time asserting our privileges. (In the mean time a public ordinance appeared, forbidding all Swedes to go to the club.) To this note also *no* answer was sent, and the ministers conceiving that an official note required a written answer, refused to go to the conferences till that answer was given. While this was going on, two English gentlemen arrived here, who brought me letters of recommendation from Lord Grenville, and I applied to the Chancellor to have them presented, which I concluded would be done on the first general court-day, as is always customary. To this note also *no* answer was given, and when the ministers went to Court, they were not spoken to by any of the royal family, and when they stood behind the King's chair during the public supper, no notice was taken of them, though it is always customary for the King to call them one by one, and to converse with them during the whole supper. Half the town of Stockholm is always admitted to see these suppers, and thus were nearly all the Courts of Europe publicly insulted for a *quid pro quo* about drinking coffee. At the same time, the Polish Minister, a man whose personal character is lower than his political one, and who had no merit but that of having signed the first official note, and refused to sign the second, conversed with the King, played at cards with the Court, and was honoured with the most exaggerated attentions. Four days after this, I received what was meant to be an answer to my application, informing me that the next day (a post-day) was appointed to receive the English gentlemen, at the hours of ten, one, and six in the

Hosted by Google

evening. This note was written by the Chancellor in the most blunt and uncivil style possible. The English felt themselves offended at not having been allowed to come to Court on the public day, as on that day an Italian and a Dane, who had arrived here after them, and who had not made so regular an application, were received. It was therefore agreed that I should allude to this circumstance in my answer, and that I should express their regret at their having since made such arrangements as put it out of their power to have the honour of paying their court to his Majesty and the royal family. I added from myself to the Chancellor that it would have been hardly possible for me to have devoted the whole day to court presentations, when it was my duty to write, and when I had much to write to Lord Grenville. I am now convinced that I did right in every respect not to go, as I learn that it was the intention of the King and the royal family not to speak to me, though I should have been obliged to address them all separately in presenting my countrymen. The note was sent the evening before the Court, that is, four hours after the Chancellor's had been received, but that gentleman chose to take no notice of it to the Court till eleven o'clock the next day, so that the Duke was kept an hour waiting. This was a trick to make my conduct odious, but it has been effectually defeated by my distributing the notes with the exact dates. Here the matter rests at present.

I have now told you a long story in as few words as I could. The motives of the Chancellor's conduct, which is unjustifiable in all its parts, are detailed in my different despatches, together with a number of aggravating circumstances. The impropriety of rendering *national* a private quarrel between the ministers and the Chancellor, of making complaints against us at our respective Courts without entering into any explanation with us on the subject, of insulting publicly the ministers of all the first Courts in Europe, before the opinion of those Courts and our conduct

Hosted by Google

could be known, and when consequently we represent, *in full*, the persons of our respective sovereigns; the absurdity of the doctrine that the personal immunities of ministers do not extend beyond their private houses, which would make it unsafe ever to stir out of them; the indecency of excluding and proscribing the English at the same time that other strangers are received; a line of demarcation publicly drawn between the ministers and the natives, first by the ordinance respecting the club, and since by other means made use of to prevent our receiving Swedes in our houses; the strange assertion that we have offended the King by writing a firm but respectful letter to the Grand Chancellor; the contempt shown us in sending no answer whatever to our official notes; an absurd report, studiously propagated, that we had entered into a plot to render this government odious;—these are the principal indignities of which we complain, and I am sure that a person of your diplomatic experience will do justice to the motives on which we act.

I remain ever, my dear Lord, very faithfully and sincerely yours,

H. J. SPENCER.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Eden Farm, Nov. 20th, 1794.

My dear Lord Henry,—There is a gloom over this country such as I cannot describe to you: it is a mixture of rage at the triumphs of the Jacobins, of mortification at our own disgraces, of extreme indignation and horror at the infatuated turpitude of some of the allied powers, of grief and alarm at the ruin which is coming upon Holland and upon the whole European continent; and all this with a score of difficulties inextricable, and a suspension between two doubts,—the doubt whether we can prosecute the war, and the doubt whether it is possible to make any step towards peace.

Under all these circumstances, it is perhaps right to

Hosted by Google

have postponed the opening of the session till the 30th December, though it would have been better if that decision had been adopted some weeks sooner.

I shall write again either on the 29th, when I shall be in London, or on the 28th. We are going to town for three or four days, and shall then resettle here till the 30th December.

Yours very affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Henry Spencer to Lady Auckland.

Stockholm, Nov. 20th, 1794.

Dear Lady Auckland,—I don't know whether you have accused me of negligence in never having troubled you with a letter since my arrival at this place. My only reason has been that the little I have found to write, which has chiefly consisted in tedious complaints and monotonous details, has all been contained in my letters to Lord Auckland. I dare say he has allowed you to profit as much as himself of these interesting discussions.

I have now to thank you for a little postscript contained in Lord Auckland's last letter. I am not clear whether you will see me exactly in the situation you describe on my arrival in England; but that you will see me much the worse for my long retirement in many respects, is a point on which I have hardly any doubt. Perhaps you will not be surprised if I also bring home some of the external ornaments you mention, when I tell you that one of my colleagues was actually confined to his room for a long while with the disorder so common in this country, and that the good old man was rather flattered than otherwise at the symptoms which appeared on his hands, which he called "*une ébullition de sang.*"

Lord Auckland's last letter was rather ominous, for at the moment that he complimented me on my having been, put out of the way of ministerial disgraces, distresses, and dangers, which one would naturally

Hosted by Google

suppose was the case in this distant country, I find myself on the point of being plunged into all these by the ignorance and absurdity of the people with whom I am obliged to have to do with.

I received a few lines the other day from poor Madame de Governet, dated *Boston*. Thus, Governet, I dont know where, Madame de Governet in America, Madame Lameth dead, Lady A—— in a hovel in Saxony, Rehausen banished from his country and turned adrift, and your humble servant at Stockholm. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

This is the place of all others where the fewest English make their appearance. I think they are perfectly in the right not to come here, for there is nothing to be seen, no society to which they can be admitted, and the treatment the two last have received from the Court is enough to discourage all future travellers. We had the other day a young Mr. Osborne, son of Sir George Osborne, who is just elected member for Bedfordshire. He brought with him from Petersburg a female Italian singer, who I think will cut a figure among his constituents.

I am sure you must be very melancholy at the successes of the Jacobins, who alone seem to act with spirit and vigour in the war, and very angry at the conduct of our allies. I think John Bull may say now what he said in the beginning of the century, "What have I to do with such fellows? John Bull, after all his crosses and losses, can do better without them than they can without him. Would to God I had lived a thousand leagues off! But the devil's in it; John Bull is in, and John Bull must get out as well as he can." I wish Lord Auckland would tell me whether England would be inclined to admit the mediation of Sweden and Denmark, in case of a peace.

I beg to be kindly remembered to all the individuals of your charming family, and that you will believe me to be, dear Lady Auckland, your Ladyship's faithful friend and servant,

H. J. SPENCER.

Hosted by Google

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Stanmer, Nov. 21st, 1794.

My dear Lord,—The prorogation of Parliament may prevent our meeting next Thursday. In expectation of that pleasure, I had delayed thanks for your last. However, I shall be in town next Monday, and the occasion I shall communicate to Lady Auckland and you, because I have just reason to flatter myself you both interest yourselves heartily concerning me. In short, there is good ground for believing that I shall, as soon as may be, be placed under the immediate protection, care, and *tutelage* of the eldest of Lord Pelham's unmarried daughters.* It hath pleased God to endow her with an excellent understanding, which, contrary to usual practice, she seems disposed to make the best use of, save and excepted always the instance of her accepting me. I am not naturally disposed to much humility, but I must agree that she is much better than I deserve. You perhaps may not know her person. It is uncommonly elegant, and her countenance is everything I could wish. Undoubtedly Lady Auckland is desirous of knowing her age. To save the trouble of examining the peerage, I communicate that she has the experience of thirty-one years, not much too old for such a youth as me. The dear brats, Maria and Louisa, have had an opportunity of exhibiting to great advantage. Their wishes have been hearty for a measure that will so essentially promote my happiness. I rejoice to hear the visits to Mr. Partington have been so efficacious.

Most faithfully yours,

SHEFFIELD.

* The Hon. Lucy Pelham, married to Lord Sheffield, Dec. 26th, 1794; died Jan. 18th, 1797.

Hosted by Google

Lord Auckland to Mr. Pitt.

Eden Farm, Dec. 1st, 1794.

My dear Sir,—This letter and the minutes inclosed in it are merely and solely for your perusal: the minutes will not at present be made known, at least not by me, to any other person.

The sequestered predicament in which I write them may subject me to some mistaken notions respecting our present difficulties and the measures proper to be pursued; but I willingly run the risk of saying much that may not be to the purpose, in the hope of suggesting something that may be serviceable: at any rate you will do justice to my motives.

Let me add, that when I refer to my own position, I mention it with due sensibility, but without spleen. It may differ widely from the expectations which I had formed, and even from the pretensions which I feel; but my attachment to you is cordially and cheerfully the same that you have always experienced.

If you should ever wish to discuss any of the public topics that I have stated, I shall be glad to attend you anywhere; or if you should have it in your power to sacrifice a day to a visit at this place, it is possible that good might result from your thinking aloud in my library, rather than in a crowded and debating Cabinet, upon considerations the most arduous that ever occupied the mind of man.

When I say that these papers are merely and solely for your perusal, I of course do not seek to restrain the communication, as heretofore, to Lord Grenville, if it should happen to be convenient to you; but I am desirous that it should go no further.

I am, my dear sir, respectfully and most sincerely yours,

AUCKLAND.

Hosted by Google

Lord Auckland to Mr. Pitt.

November 28th, 1794.

I sit down with pain of mind, and with anxiety, to consider the sum and result of the disastrous events of the last twelve months, so far as they are known to me on this day. It would now be useless to look back to the causes of those events, or to the conduct of the several parties engaged in the three campaigns. I wish to confine these minutes to our actual circumstances, as connected with the disposition and means of our enemies, our allies, and our countrymen, and I probably shall be led to some general inferences respecting the plans to be adopted, whether for the prosecution of the war, or for the attainment of a pacification.

Engaged as we are in a conflict strange and unprecedented, not only in its principles, but in all its details and bearings, exposed as we have been to a system of hostility equally new and dangerous, we seem hitherto to have pursued, on our part, only the old beaten ground of warfare. I admit that all possible energy has been shown in the extent of our naval and military preparations, in the equipment and manning of ships, in the multiplication of new levies, in subsidising troops, and in accomplishing treaties of alliance. Perhaps, however, it was not difficult to foresee that such measures, though carried far beyond the experience of former times, were not likely to prove adequate to the exigencies of the present war. The extravagant and desperate course with which the overwhelming hordes of France were brought into action, and the difficulty of resisting such a pressure by means so dispersed and so disjointed as those of the allied powers, made it eligible for us to try, from day to day, new schemes and new resources, and to disconcert the enemy by sudden and unexpected measures, both of force and negotiation. It was under this impression that I wished eighteen months

Hosted by Google

ago, and whilst our successes were still unbroken, to see a commission with full and unlimited powers over the armies and the foreign ministers, from all the allied sovereigns, established at Brussels, or in some more central spot amidst the scenes of action. It is now impossible to say whether such a commission would have materially varied the turn and fate of the war: probably it would have sunk under the intrigues and small passions which have palsied and ruined the operations of the three campaigns. Perhaps, however, it might have detected those intrigues,—so far, at least as to have prevented the suddenness and extent of the mischief. At any rate, I thought, and continue to think it expedient, and even essential, to pursue the war by unusual and extraordinary means; the choice and adoption of such means can be made only by those who have access to the whole correspondence, and to the King's councils and confidence, and who may at the same time possess invention and resources within their minds calculated to meet the novelty of the position. I make this remark because I think it still applicable to our present emergency.

That emergency suspends us between two doubts,—the doubt whether we can prosecute the war, the doubt whether we can obtain any pacification, or even such a suspension of the war as would not be worse than a prosecution of it under all its unfavourable prospects. His Majesty's Government has some well-meaning friends, who think that we are approaching to a point where we can make neither war nor peace. I hope that an opinion so disheartening is without any just foundation.

First, then, with respect to the enemy. Many of the persons who last obtained a leading influence in the Convention, at present hold a moderated language and a moderated conduct also, though in the course of the revolution they are known to have committed the most hardened and most atrocious cruelties. But this change, so far as we yet see, extends only to interior policy. It was become necessary to con-

Hosted by Google

ciliate the people, who were appalled and disgusted by Danton's system of terror, and by the boundless and frantic massacres under Robespierre. It is indeed of a nature also to attract foreign nations, who will be ready enough to forget the past crimes when they cease to be repeated; but it does not yet extend itself to the operations of the armies, which are forced forwards with as much efficiency as when Robespierre guided the guillotine and Barère proclaimed his mandates. In truth, it seems to be the interest of the present leaders to persevere in the war with increased energy if possible; and we cannot doubt that they fully know their own interest. They evidently have the prospect of gaining the province of Holland and the Dutch ports, together with the shipping and magazines; and they may reasonably expect to derive from such a conquest the means of giving a fatal blow to the naval superiority of this country. It is further apparent, that they cannot with safety carry back into France a million of armed men. On the other hand, it is possible that the people may grow clamorous for peace, and that the armies (though hitherto they show no such disposition) may become impatient to go home. Again, it may be doubted whether, under the moderated line of conduct, and when terror has ceased to be the order of the day, the revolutionary system of finance, and the requisitions of men, can be enforced so as to maintain the means of war, notwithstanding the resources and advantages arising from the capture of so many rich countries and fortified places.

As to the notion that there exists in Paris or in other parts of France a large party which will soon show itself in favour of monarchy, I have ceased "to lay such flattering unction to my soul;" those speculations are, and ought to be, utterly discarded. We must form our estimates, we must take our measures, under the reasonable conviction that it will be the plan and policy of the rulers of France, and of the French nation, whatever changes or modifications

Hosted by Google

their Government may undergo, to reduce and to ruin Great Britain.

Second. With respect to our allies. I am now authorised to repeat what I had occasion some years* ago to assert, "that nothing is to be expected from the Berlin Cabinet beyond a precarious aid and an unprincipled and perfidious activity." And when Lord Malmesbury and other negotiators continue to assure us that his Prussian Majesty is a man of sense and of honour, but unfortunately deceived and misled by those who surround him, I beg leave to answer that, in every political view, it is indifferent whether the treachery under which we suffer comes from the hand of a principal or of a deputy. The Court of Berlin is, and will be to the end at least of the present reign, restless and full of projects, without wisdom, morals, consistency, or decency.

I do not think that any of these reproaches are justly applicable to the Court of Vienna. But from the time that the Emperor, in last May, declared at Brussels his intention to return to Vienna, it was evident that the Austrian ministers were impressed by the necessity of withdrawing from the prosecution of the French war, and that they had resolved, under this impression, to leave the borders of Germany, the Austrian Netherlands, and Holland to their fate. My old friend the Count de Mercy transmitted to me from his death-bed a contrary assertion, and I must presume that he believed it. But be this as it may, it is demonstrable that the imperial army is so far exhausted, that it is not more than adequate to the services which may be required on the German side of the Rhine. Besides, if we had all the millions to lend or to give that the Austrian ministers are pleased to demand, I venture to say that they would not produce any efficient military aid.

Our ally, the Empress of Russia, never meant to assist us with troops, when perhaps she could have

* In 1791, when Lord Auckland opposed a Russian war.

Hosted by Google

done it at the opening of the war. At present the French scale of operations is so immense, and their advantages by the possession of all the fortified towns are such, that she could not materially interfere if she would. Her *benignum numen* is occupying and aiding her in Poland, and though it would be easy to show that the Polish business occasioned in part our miscarriages in France, and was grossly unjust in its origin, I no longer lament the fate of a country which was making itself an agent in the cause of Jacobinism.

With regard to the southern powers, it seems sufficient to remark, that at least we have no help to expect from them; on the contrary, they are unable to rise beyond defensive efforts, which seem to grow weaker as the attacks grow stronger. The overrunning of Italy, or the explosion of the Spanish monarchy, would be momentous events in these strange times, and bring forwards new and anxious speculations respecting our foreign dominions, our maritime power, and the commerce of the world. If the war continues another year, such events are not more improbable than many which have taken place.

This statement, if true, reduces the whole of our efficient alliances to such parts of the United Provinces as are not yet in the possession of the French, and our means of prosecuting a continental war to the crippled army of the Dutch and the troops in British pay.

I must, however, be understood not to call in question the expediency of urging our several allies, by every argument, in every stage, and to the last moment, to act as far as they can. I would even give new subsidies, if there were any certainty that a proportionable efficient tone could be obtained in return. At all events, I would require them, in ostensible and urgent terms, to take their share in the warfare; and I would declare to them, and to all Europe, that if they neglect to do it, our compact with them not to make peace but by mutual consent is virtually dissolved.

Hosted by Google

It may happen that several of our allies, either from necessity, or from policy, may make peace. It is, even probable that the Dutch Government may be forced to such a measure, and under conditions which eventually may destroy the Stadthouders' power, and give to the French, either avowedly or under the cover of neutrality, all the advantages resulting from the wealth, ports, and shipping of Holland and Zealand. If those advantages should not accrue to the enemy from the negotiations already begun, it is to be feared that in a few months they may be the fruit of new successes and victories.

The result of these speculations with respect to our enemies and allies is that the latter are become null to us, or worse than null; and that the former, having overrun the whole southern and western Continent of Europe, from the lines of Gibraltar to the borders of the Baltic, may declare against any pacification with us, and having nothing to lose which we can take, and much to get which we cannot defend, may proceed to apply their population and resources to pushing a naval war, accompanied by partial invasions of our territories in different parts of the world.

Third. Under all these circumstances and prospects, what is, or is likely to be, the temper of our countrymen?

I do not admit, though many good judges apprehend it, that the spirit of Jacobinism is gaining ground in England. I believe that it prevails in parts of Scotland; and the restlessness and disaffection of the populace in Ireland may be encouraged to break out fatally if any invasions should happen, or if any intemperate change of system should take place in the conduct of the Irish Government. As to Jacobinism, strictly speaking, by which I mean the love of insurrection for the purpose of reducing all mankind to an equality, I do not think that it exists in the country, except in the lowest and most ignorant classes, and perhaps among some individuals of a better description. I even believe that the spirit of Jacobinism is

Hosted by Google

losing ground in France. Still, however, there prevails among us a growing disposition to innovation; and we must not conceal from ourselves (what we certainly shall experience most sensibly) that the attachment of the country at large to Government is naturally weakened by the long course of calamities which has baffled and disappointed all the measures of Government.

It does not signify that those measures may have been the wisest and the best possible. The estimation of the people is influenced by events which they see and feel, and not by reasonings, the grounds of which are either disputable or unknown.

It is also certain that the horror which justly belongs to the wickedness and atrocities of the French Convention insensibly loses itself in admiration of the French successes, and in a forced acknowledgment of the perseverance, courage, and conduct of the French armies. Nor will this important change of sentiment be confined to the lower class of the people; it will soon be found that it pervades the middle class; that it exists even in the most enlightened descriptions of men, and that it affects, more or less, many individuals in both Houses of Parliament.

These are unpleasant truths; but we must not shut our eyes against them, and their effect will not be softened by the late coalition (however necessary it may have been), nor by the constructions to which that coalition will be subject.

Under all these considerations affecting our enemies, our allies, and our countrymen, it is easier to estimate the weight of our difficulties than to conceive the means of resisting them. My object is to impress rather the necessity of adopting some unusual and extraordinary measures calculated to give a new direction to the anxieties and expectations of mankind, than to point out what those measures ought to be. I know too little of the secret springs of the present Cabinet, or of the information possessed by it, to risk opinions as to what can be attempted; but I well know

Hosted by Google

that if we pursue the tame and hackneyed modes either of prosecuting the war, under all its hopelessness, or of negotiating a pacification under all its difficulties, the general impatience and despondency will become unmanageable, and the reins of government be wrested from all the hands which may try to hold them.

If we are to lose the Dutch Provinces there are many hardy measures which may be taken provisionally to alleviate such a calamity, and which in a case somewhat similar I recommended as practicable. I regret that we have not already opened our ports for the deposit of all kinds of valuable merchandise and effects, from Amsterdam and from the Meuse. The panic of the Dutch cannot be materially increased by such a permission, and I understand that much property has already been sent to Hamburg, Bremen, &c. It is possible that harsher precautions may become necessary: such as the seizing a considerable part of the Dutch shipping; the removing the bank money to a situation of security; the putting an embargo on all Dutch ships in our ports; the retaining possession of Zealand and of the island of Walcheren, at least long enough to send the ships of war from Helvoet and from Flushing to Portsmouth; the seizing a part at least of the fleet at Mars Diep; the sending to take (what in the case supposed will readily be ceded to us) all the Dutch possessions in the East and West Indies.

But after all, and when these measures and others more or less efficient shall have been resolved or executed, we still remain suspended between two doubts: the doubt whether we can make war; the doubt whether we can attain a pacification.

My opinion is, that after supporting Holland to the utmost of our power, and as far as our interests and honour require, and after furnishing to the King of Sardinia further pecuniary means of continuing if possible to defend himself, we should withdraw from all continental exertions and interference, and apply

Hosted by Google

ourselves to prosecuting the naval war with a great increase of naval strength. Such a measure would be done upon a scale of expense far below that of the campaign which is now closing, and it is probable that means may be found for furnishing that expense, during one year at least, without bearing heavy upon the country. (I include in those means a mortgage of the East India payments for a certain term of years, and an application of 300,000*l.* or 400,000*l.* a year of the average excess of the annual income beyond the peace expenditure, and the sums pledged to the plan for discharging the debt.) My idea then would be to endeavour to destroy the French navy, and to maintain the islands and all the external conquests (and even Corsica), either till the course of events might leave us masters of the sea, or till the French system might break to pieces under its own extent and weight, or till some contingency occurred to clear our views and plans.

It would at the same time be expedient to hold out our system explicitly to our allies, to the French nation, and to the world; and to let it be fairly and fully understood that we never have pledged ourselves not to acknowledge the republican government in France, provided that the revolutionary system against nations professed two years ago by that government is desisted from, both in principle and in practice. Still less are we pledged not to treat with the existing representatives of another nation, whoever they may be, however much we may abhor the crimes with which some of those representatives may be stained. The great principle which we must have and may avow is described in a part of the amendment moved last year by Lord Guildford and Mr. Fox, at the opening of the session; we seek "to attain a peace by which the permanent safety of his Majesty's subjects and the independence and security of Europe may be provided for."

In what manner our system should be brought forwards to public view is a material consideration; I

Hosted by Google

incline to think that it would come with advantage, as soon as the safety of Holland during the winter months is ascertained, in the form of a manifesto or declaration. We should have the advantage of seeing its impression before the opening of the session, and the further advantage of supplying in the King's speech whatever might be found deficient in the declaration.

If, however, it should be thought preferable to bring forwards the whole in the King's speech, I then think it should be done in the fullest and most explicit terms that language can supply, preceded by a fair and manly detail of the failure of the campaign, and an explanation, as far as it can be given, of the causes of that failure.

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Eden Farm, December 22nd, 1794.

My dear Lord Henry,—You will probably receive this scrawl in the first days of the new year: receive with it the hearty and old-fashioned good wish that you may see many returns of the season in health and happiness. I feel quite glad to get rid of 1794. It has been the most calamitous year of the century; its successor cannot easily be worse, and I somehow persuade myself that Europe will soon see better days; but I do not know on what reasoning to ground that hope, except on the inconstant humours of mankind, which may give birth to a period of tranquillity after so long a course of trouble. Appearances, however, are against this, and we ought, according to all present symptoms, to have a severe convulsion before we arrive at any quiet.

Your last is dated November 20th; you had not then received your instructions to proceed to Berlin, but Mr. Garlike wrote to me on the 25th, when you were engaged in the ceremony of taking leave. It is

Hosted by Google

happily become superfluous to risk an opinion to you respecting the interference of those *neutral powers* (as they call themselves) in the great wish of pacification. If, in the course of events, a peace should soon become practicable (I do not think that it will), I conceive that its acerbity will not be lessened nor its qualities mended by such mediators. In the mean time, if you have adverted to the conditional agreement for a loan, you will have seen that we are preparing for further efforts even on the Continent, and that we are to promise for Austria six millions sterling. I understand that the despatch for a new convention was sent to my brother last Tuesday. The debates on this subject will be peevish and most violent. If it could be ascertained that such a measure and such a sacrifice would save Holland, I think that we could easily repel all the parliamentary declarations; but if Pichegru and Co. are to arrive at Amsterdam, *cum zephyris et hirundine primâ*, the popular disposition of this country will incline strongly to leave the borders of the Rhine and of Germany to their fate, and to maintain the struggle solely at sea.

I am curious to know whether your sister, Lady Charlotte, will at last attend at the wedding. The squadron is to sail to Stadt to-morrow, with Lady Jersey, Lord Clermont, &c. The Duke and Duchess do not yet talk of coming to town.

Believe me, my dear Lord, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Henry Spencer to Lord Auckland.*

Copenhagen, December 23rd, 1794.

My dear Lord, — I left Stockholm on the 13th instant, and arrived here with some difficulty on the 20th.

* In the "Mémoires d'un homme d'état," it stated that "le ministère anglais s'aperçut trop tard que la négociation de Bâle, d'abord désavouée, n'était que trop réelle. Il fit partir en toute hâte Lord Henri Spencer, ministre plénipotentiaire à Stockholm, qui, revêtu de la qualité d'ambas-

Hosted by Google

Lord Grenville has made a calculation respecting me which I really do not understand. You will judge of it yourself. The messenger who brought my letters of recall arrived at Stockholm, without meeting with any delay, about the 20th of last month. I had then to procure and go through public audiences with all the royal family, to break up my establishment, to find out the means of transporting my effects,—a thing almost impossible at this time of the year,—to buy and prepare carriages for myself, to settle Garlike in his new post, &c. The use of air-balloons is not known in Sweden. Any passage that I could have made across the Baltic at this season would have been difficult, dangerous, and subject to delays beyond all calculation. The only remaining way, which I have chosen, by Copenhagen and Hamburg is above a thousand English miles in length, the roads almost impassable, and the sea to cross three times. Yet did Lord Grenville, as you inform me, despatch a messenger to me at Berlin the latter end of last month. I leave this place to-morrow, having been obliged to stay here four days to get my carriage repaired, &c. God knows what may be the consequence of this confusion. One would think that the Foreign Office had prayed, "Ye gods, annihilate but time and space!" though I don't know who would have been made happy by it, except Arthur Paget, on whose account I am now fagging to Berlin at a very awkward moment.

You will perhaps have heard that the King of Sweden, on my going away, gave me, instead of his picture, an enamelled painting, in which was . . .* Is not this a very dignified joke from a crowned head? I have left it at Stockholm, and hope that it will be publicly returned by order of my Court. Baron Staël has left this place, and is gone avowedly to the French

sadeur extraordinaire à Berlin, se rendit dans cette capitale avec des pouvoirs très-étendus pour détourner la Prusse, s'il en était encore tems, de conclure avec la France une paix particulière."—Vol. ii. p. 567.

* The painting was grossly indecent.

Hosted by Google

frontier, from whence he will proceed to Paris as soon as the Diet of Ratisbon shall have finished its debates. Is it possible that England could in any case accept so scurvy a mediation? I hope not. Prussia and Austria have refused it.

As the passage of the Belts is very uncertain, I cannot calculate on being at Berlin in less than a fortnight.

I remain ever, my dear Lord, most sincerely and faithfully yours,

H. J. SPENCER.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Palace Yard, January 2nd, 1795.

My dear Lord Henry,—I must not suffer the opening of the new session to pass without a few lines to you. I came to town on the 30th, and was thirteen hours in the House of Lords, but as mute as a fish. I was in a disposition of mind which might have led me to say many things that would have been offensive upon the Continent, and perhaps mischievous to this Government, which, after all, I heartily wish to support. Upon the whole, I am glad on reflection that I was quiet.

The numbers were sufficiently steady in both houses, but there were, as you will have seen, many remarkable defections* in the House of Commons. Still we could with ease carry the measures requisite to the greatest preparations for another campaign: but many minds are shaken, and I answer for nothing if farther calamities are coming on. Of this description would be the loss of Holland, which I think extremely probable: perhaps, even, the fate of that country may be decided before you receive this letter. In the mean time the measure of the Austrian loan, and the quota of troops to be furnished in return, is in great forwardness; but *multa cadunt inter calicem*, &c.

* Mr. Wilberforce was the most remarkable.

Hosted by Google

The ships for the Princess have not yet sailed from Sheerness, and the winds are contrary.

We are all well under this roof, but less cheerful than the general circle of our friends, among whom the gloominess of the public prospects seems, as yet, to make little impression. My ideas on that subject are grown very serious.

Believe me, my dear Lord Henry, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Henry Spencer to Lord Auckland.

Berlin, January 6th, 1795.

My dear Lord,— I arrived here on Saturday last, and was glad to find that the messenger Dressins had not brought me anything which required my immediate presence at this place. I have had a mortifying proof that I chose the best road from Stockholm at this time of the year, which is, that my servants and horses, who set out a day before me, and came the *short* way, have not yet been heard of.

Paget goes away the day after to-morrow, and I have sent an estafette to hasten Mr. Gray.*

I can say but little from this place as yet, either about myself or about other people. It will be, as I expected, exceedingly dull in point of society, but, I think there will be plenty of business.

You will have heard that Count Golz, whom you must have known at Paris, is gone to Basle, and has sent on his secretary, one Harnier, to Paris, with some proposals for peace. The Prussian ministry assure us that nothing less than a general pacification will be thought of.

Lady A—— is formally married to B——, and I was assured by J. Fagel that she gave in an account of her infidelities to A——, who found it so exorbitant, that he would not believe half of it, and applied to some of the parties concerned to have it confirmed.

* The Secretary of Legation.

Hosted by Google

Allow me to intreat you, my dear Lord, to keep me tolerably well informed of home politics during the session. You are my sole dependence in this repect, as you know what it is to be at a distance, and in the dark. "*Non ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco.*" It is really of importance that the English minister at this place should be the best informed person on these matters.

Believe me, my dear Lord, sincerely yours,

H. SPENCER.

Owing to the severity of the winter, the rivers, which were the natural defences of Holland, became frozen.

Pichegru, taking advantage of this circumstance, commenced a winter campaign, which was completely successful. The English and Hanoverians retreated, and Holland with its navy fell into the hands of the French. Thus was the "glorious victory" of 1787, which gave the last blow to the monarchy of France, reversed by republican arms.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Palace Yard, January 16th, 1795.

My dear Lord Henry,—I this day received yours of the 6th. I felt glad that you were safely landed at Berlin, and further glad to see you once more within a ten days' postage. But, to proceed more regularly to work, I will begin by your letter of the 23rd from Copenhagen, which I have not yet acknowledged. I have only to remark on the present of the Swedish Court, that it was one of those modern acts (of which there are too many) which tend to the levelling of thrones and conditions, and give to monarchs a more certain disregard and disrespect than all the labours and all the successes of the Jacobins. I believe that you did right in reporting that same *polissonnerie* to your Court; in truth, I do not know that it was avoidable, or that you could have done otherwise.

Hosted by Google

There is a good practical rule for such cases in a French author, I believe in Fontaine,—

"Cependant il ne fit rien,
Et à mon avis il fit bien :
Le moins de bruit qu'on peut faire
En cette affaire
Est le plus sûr de la moitié,
Soit par prudence ou par pitié."

But I do not think the rule applicable to this case; it was too marked and too official. I suppose that Lord Grenville will order the present to be returned to the Chancellor. This small anecdote has found its way into our newspapers; but inoffensively, — the article only says that "His Swedish Majesty had given to Lord Spencer his portrait, but not surrounded by brilliants, as has hitherto been the custom of foreign Courts."

I am tempted to fill up the letter by these small matters. It is very painful to me to enter on the subject of our public situation. I had long ceased to flatter myself in respect to Holland, and had stated thirteen days ago in Parliament, in some detail, that I considered the United Provinces, with all their ports, magazines, naval stores, seamen, &c., as certain to fall immediately into the hands of the enemy. I stated at the same time, though not in hostility to Government, that I had had no official concern with the conduct of the war during twelve months; but that knowing the war to have been inevitable, and believing peace to be impracticable, I saw no remedy now but in perseverance and redoubled energy. I was thought at the moment to have talked too despondently; at present the calamity, as you will learn before you can receive this letter, is beyond speculation and doubt. The certainty of it is not yet comprehended, nor is it easy to foresee what the popular impression will be. Under any other circumstances the ministry would be changed; but Mr. Fox's party is dreaded and disliked, and there is no other at present. I suppose, therefore, that we shall scramble forwards, though under great disadvantages and subject to sad risks. Lord Howe is to sail

Hosted by Google

in a day or two with forty ships of the line. The loan of six millions to the Emperor will be voted next week; great additions will be made to the navy; the supplies and taxes will be voted; the debates will be high, the popular confidence will be low, but I do not think that there will be any immediate change of Government. The rest will be decided by Providence and by time. My heart aches as far as it can now for individual considerations, when I recollect the fallen fortunes of all our old friends in Holland. The Greffier is in London and is much with us. I will say no more on these subjects at this moment, but will try to write again next week. We are quite afflicted for the Orange family. As to private matters, your access to this country seems to be nearly cut off through the whole line from Bilbao to the Baltic; but I am not aware of anything that ought to prevent your having leave of absence in the spring. All well under this roof. We are at home to everybody every evening. In the morning we employ ourselves, and we generally dine *presqu'en famille.*

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Palace Yard, January 23rd, 1795.

My dear Lord Henry, — A few lines in these strange times may be interesting to you, and therefore I write to-day, although I wrote last week.

On the 19th the Princesses of Orange arrived in a fishing-boat at Yarmouth with the child, and on the 20th the three Princes arrived, also in a fishing-boat, at Harwich; on the 21st they all assembled at Colchester, where they are at present. The King sent Lord Eliot to them with a letter. Lady Auckland wrote by him to the Princess, and received her answer to-day. Lady Auckland was too ill to travel, otherwise we should have gone. They are all to come to Hampton Court; at least, that place is fitting up for them. The Pensionary was in bed with a fever, and without

Hosted by Google

any knowledge of what was going forwards. The Greffier remains here, but is very ill, and has kept his bed all this week; I see him every day. His three brothers are, I believe, still in England, and at Harwich, but they mean to go home immediately. It is melancholy work to see so much national and individual unhappiness,—all which might have been avoided if there had been more concert, candour, and wisdom in the united powers, and less corruption, intrigue, and falsehood in some of their advisers. This country is very low-spirited as to continental politics, and very inclinable to leave the Continent to go to the devil in its own way. Our difficulties and dangers in consequence of this Dutch catastrophe are also sufficiently felt; but, in other respects, our countrymen are stout and unanimous in wishing to make every possible exertion to prosecute a naval war. The debates next week will be warm between parties; but that is of little consequence. In the mean time the weather is beyond example severe, and all sorts of provisions are high in price, and the poorer classes are much straitened. I will write again next week and wish that my scrawl may be less uncheerful.

Ever yours,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Palace Yard, February 7th, 1795.

My dear Lord,—My last was dated 23rd January, but it probably is at Harwich, for the elements conspire with the French to shut us out of all access to the Continent, and it was lately a matter of serious consideration in our post-office whether it might not be worth while to send the German bags by the Mediterranean.

Since I wrote I have repeatedly seen the Orange family; they are treated here with universal respect of the most generous kind by all ranks. Their present residence is at Kew; but they are to settle in a

Hosted by Google

few days at Hampton Court: in the mean time they have concerts, cards, dinners, &c., at St. James's, the Queen's house, the Prince of Wales's, &c. They are treated as Princes and Princesses of the Blood Royal; and it is impossible for the King to be kinder than he is to the Princesses, even if he were brother to one of them and father to the others. The debates in Parliament are frequent and long, and as unpleasant as a long course of calamities and a great prospect of dangers and difficulties can make them; but the majorities within doors are steady, and the loyalty of the country at large is undiminished. The Austrian Loan was yesterday voted 172 to 58: in the course of the day many sharp speeches were uttered respecting the Court where you are residing; but such things will happen.

Our sea news (and we receive no other) is very unpleasant; Lord Howe never got out of Channel. There is reason to apprehend that the French have taken many prizes, part of a West India fleet; it is certain that they have taken many African ships of value, and persons arrived from Brest bring accounts of great preparations for future naval enterprises. Still, however, this country is not disheartened, though many of the towns have petitioned for peace.

All well under this roof. Lady Auckland has small assemblies every night. I have lately seen your sister Lady Elizabeth twice; she is in great beauty and tolerable health. Lord Charles gives me an uncheerful account of the Blenheim style of life, which seems more retired than ever.

Lord St. Helens was obliged to burn all our Hague archives: are you not sorry for so many volumes of your manuscripts?

Lady Auckland's kindest compliments.

I am, my dear Lord Henry, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Hosted by Google

CHAP. XXXIV.

Great Increase of the English Navy.—Treachery of Prussia.—Recall of Lord Fitzwilliam.—Prussia makes Peace.—Mr. Storer and the Bargemen.—The English Government desires the Co-operation of Prussia to reinstate the Stadtholder.—The Prince of Wales in Trouble.—Letter of Lord Loughborough on Catholic Emancipation.—Death of Lord Henry Spencer.—Melancholy State of Affairs at the Hague.

In the following chapter there will be found some allusion to the breaking up* of Lord Fitzwilliam's government, which was occasioned by the support which he gave to Mr. Grattan's measure of Catholic emancipation.

Lord Fitzwilliam had already deeply offended the Protestant party in Ireland by his abrupt dismissal of Mr. Beresford, Mr. Cooke and Mr. Sackville Hamilton.

Mr. Beresford, who was dismissed because he was "King of Ireland," appealed to Mr. Pitt for support, and Lord Auckland, in an interview with Mr. Pitt, received satisfactory assurance that his friend should be protected.

While this matter was pending, Lord Fitzwilliam, who imagined that although he had been forbidden to propose, he was authorised to support Catholic emancipation, if brought forward by an independent member, warmly assisted Mr. Grattan in his endeavour to establish religious equality.

Lord Fitzgibbon opposed it as a dangerous innovation on the laws of 1688, and this idea was adopted by the King, who in a letter to Mr. Pitt, expressed his strong repugnance to the measure.

Upon this the Cabinet decided that Lord Fitzwilliam should be recalled.

* In Lord Stanhope's "Life of Pitt," there is a full account of the circumstances which caused Lord Fitzwilliam's removal.

Hosted by Google

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Palace Yard, Feb. 20th, 1795.

My dear Lord Henry,—The late ill successes of the war having made us more than ever "*penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*," and it being a great discouragement to correspondence that the strong and incessant east winds keep the packets in our ports, and that if they get out they are sure to be obstructed by ice in the mouths of the Elbe and Wesel, the result is that you are as much separated from your country as Ovid was from his when at Pontus; and if the weather with you bears any analogy to what we have here, you must be as cold as he was.

You had a wish to see Petersburg. It will probably be not extravagantly out of your way home, whenever you can obtain a leave of absence. It was seriously in contemplation lately to send despatches to Germany by the Mediterranean.

Lord Howe has at last sailed with a convoy of about 200 vessels. It is the only cheering part of our situation. The internal activity and prosperity of this country are such that our export trade during the last twelve months is higher than it ever was, even immediately previous to this infernal war.

Great efforts are making to man the great augmentations intended to be made to the navy. We have (and in some degree with the consent of the merchants) issued from the Council an order of general embargo, in consequence of which no vessel is to sail from any port till such port has furnished a certain number of seamen (at a certain rate to be defrayed by the public). The counties are also to furnish to the navy about 11,000 landsmen. The whole number to be obtained is about 40,000, in addition to the 90,000 already in the navy; and we shall have before June about 120 ships of the line, and about 150 frigates; and as our vessels are not subject to subsidy

Hosted by Google

treaties, nor commanded by the general of our allies, they fight well and heartily.

There is in Parliament a sort of suspension of hostilities on the part of Opposition; and it probably will continue till the Austrian treaty arrives. There is (as I have heretofore remarked to you) no fear as to numbers for the support of Government; but the pressure of the war in other points of view is very great, and it is as yet impossible to conjecture what may be its result.

The Princes and Princesses of Orange are to settle to-morrow at Hampton Court. The kindness and real friendship with which they are treated by our royal family are more than I can describe, and they are cordially sensible of it. I yesterday saw much of them. Our poor friend, the Greffier, will be greatly distressed as to the alternative of exposing himself to great personal risks or of being exiled with a forfeiture of his property. We have news that his two brothers, Robert and William, are under arrest at the Hague.

The ladies desire to be kindly mentioned.

Believe me, my dear Lord Henry, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Henry Spencer to Lord Auckland.

Berlin, Feb. 23rd, 1795.

My dear Lord,—I continue without any letters from England, which I am the more surprised at, as letters have been received at Hamburg, Dresden, Hanover, &c. If you desert me in this moment, I must remain ignorant of what passes in my own country. The gentleman who takes this letter to England carries also the following intelligence to the office:—"That his Prussian Majesty, being entirely without resources for continuing the war, having barely wherewithal to pay his army till the end of next month, and

Hosted by Google

not receiving any offers* from England, is determined to make peace† with the French, or rather to *surrender to them at discretion.* All the country on the other side the Rhine, including his Prussian Majesty's own provinces, will be ceded to France, and I do not understand that any stipulation will be made for the security of the rest of Germany. The Duke of Brunswick and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel will alone participate of the blessings of this peace. All this, my dear Lord, is steadfastly denied by this ministry, who affect to be sending recruits and making other military preparations, but I have good reason‡ to believe that it is but too true. I believe that Hardenberg § will succeed Golz at Basle, and will put the finishing stroke to the business.

If this should take place, and if the other continental powers should continue the war with France, we cannot be surprised at any degree of intimacy that may take place between that country and Prussia. I understand that M. Barthelemi will perhaps come here as minister, and I hope that my long-expected leave of absence will then be granted me, as I shall be no longer either *useful or ornamental* at this Court.

In the mean time, you probably know that the Emperor and the King of Prussia are disputing about the Palatinates of Cracow and Sandowir. The Emperor says that if the King of Prussia takes those provinces, he shall be kept in perpetual hot water in Gallicia. The King of Prussia replies that if the Emperor takes them, Silesia will never be safe. Both are, I believe, in the right, and this makes the affair so much the more difficult to settle. The

* Of money.

† Concluded at Basle, April 5th.

‡ The "Mémoires d'un homme d'état" are "tirés" from Hardenberg's papers.

§ Lord Henry Spencer's information was perfectly correct. In the "Mémoires d'un homme d'état" it is stated that Lord Henry, "se défiant des ministres, dirigea ses batteries sur La Favorite, Comtesse de Lichtenau," in order to prevent the peace being made.

Hosted by Google

Empress espouses the cause of the Court of Vienna. This paves the way for new wars, invasions, and all other misfortunes.

I enclose a letter from Mr. Gray; he is an excellent man, and does vastly well here in all respects.

Believe me ever, my dear Lord, most sincerely and faithfully yours,

H. SPENCER.

Mr. Craufurd to Lord Auckland.

Frankfort, March 3rd, 1795.

My Lord, — I wrote to your Lordship twice in January, but it is probable that those letters may never reach you, for the unfortunate events in Holland having produced great disorder in the posts, some of the mails were lost, and perhaps fell into the hands of the enemy.

The Prussian army that was in the neighbourhood is now moving towards Westphalia, except a corps of about 14,000 men that remains under the command of the Prince of Hohenlohe, a gallant, honourable man, disliked by the democratic party, but otherwise universally esteemed. The King, in some late military arrangements, proposes that this corps, joined by all the Saxons, and 10,000 Hessians, should form an army of reserve, to be stationed, for the present, between Hanau and Frankfort. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel wishes to command this army; the King is desirous that it should be commanded by his general the Prince of Hohenlohe, and hence, probably, will arise delays and embarrassments.

I wrote to Perregaux* about your "Moniteurs," but I have not received any answer, though the letters and newspapers from Paris arrive here very regularly. Some of the late papers are curious, and contain articles that, in the way of intelligence, merit attention. In following and observing the different news-

* The Paris banker.

Hosted by Google

papers, it is possible, I believe, to form a pretty just idea of the interior state of France, for they now write and publish at Paris without fear or hindrance. It seems to be generally allowed, that the Convention is rather obliged to conform to the will of the public, than able to command it; but, whether the impulsion be given by the people to their representatives, or, as formerly, by the representatives to the people, I consider the report of the *Comité de Salut Public sur la Paix*, as a declaration of what the Convention intend, which the people have ratified with their approbation. The Convention, therefore, stand engaged to obtain what they have announced. They have declared that the boundaries of the French empire are to be the Alps and Pyrenees, the ocean and the Rhine; and in a note of intelligence transmitted to the Prime Minister, it is said, "et cette circonférence une fois assurée, elle entend la couvrir par des barrières plus redoutables que des montagnes et des fleuves, c'est-à-dire, par un contour des républiques adjacentes, qui de proche en proche serviront à bouleverser l'Europe."

They have not yet pronounced judgment upon the Low Countries, but it appears that their intention, in regard to the United Provinces, is to form them into a Democratic Republic, nominally independent, but in reality to be ruled by the Convention: "De démocratiser le gouvernement, de le confier à de patriotes qui seront en Hollande ses réprésentans, et de le laisser subsister ainsi en république *révolutionnaire*, indépendante de nom, sujette de fait, et obéissante au système français." The marine and commerce of Great Britain are to be destroyed; her colonies taken from her; and ultimately the standard of anarchy is to be displayed over the ruins of London—*Delenda est Carthago.* From the borders of the Rhine they are to spread their doctrines over Germany and the North, and when the occasion is favourable, pass with their armies to protect them. They are to divide the powers of the empire more, were it possible, than they are already. They are to engage the Porte to declare

Hosted by Google

war; the Poles again to rise and claim their independence; and hence, and with the aid they may find in Sweden and in Germany, "délivrer l'Europe de l'insolence de la Russie." These mighty projects have been openly proclaimed, and, however absurd they may to some appear, I most fully believe that unless the French be reduced to sue for peace, or another revolution happen and the monarchy be restored, most of the governments upon the Continent will be overturned, like the government of the United Provinces. The revolutionary doctrines are constantly making progress, and whoever imagines that the disposition to receive them has been corrected by the example of what has happened in France, deceives himself. The *Propaganda*, directed and supported by the *Comité de Salut Public*, was never more active.

QU. CRAUFURD.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Palace Yard, March 6th, 1795.

My dear Lord Henry,—This is the seventh short letter that I have written to you in the last two months; and it is a part of the evil fruits of these evil times, that the mails arrive to you so slowly and so irregularly. Lady Auckland continues to recover well; she now receives company, and we propose on the 28th instant to go to our farm for the month of April. We talk of passing the month of May in town; but in these times I lay small stress on projects so distant. The price of every article both of necessity and of luxury is rising in this country. Veal is now 8*d.* per lb. (it used to be 6*d.*); coals 4*l.* and 5*l.* per chaldron (instead of 40*s.* and 50*s.*); the quartern loaf 9*d.* instead of 6*d.* and 7*d.*: this last article is a serious subject, as the American crops have failed, and as there is a considerable interruption and diminution, through obvious causes, in the annual supplies from the Vistula. There have been several meetings on this subject at the committee of the Privy Council,

Hosted by Google

and also on the question of Dutch vessels and Dutch property, which I have attended.

The conversation of the day turns much on the sudden break-up of Lord Fitzwilliam's government in Ireland. I have, in confidence, seen much of the whole course of that business. The short fact is, that Lord Fitzwilliam weakly and wildly committed himself to the direction of all the wrong heads in Ireland; and among them there were some who had a particular enmity to the whole system of Mr. Pitt's government for the last ten years in Ireland, and to the persons who had faithfully supported that government. In addition to this, they were preparing to give, what they called, an emancipation to the Catholics, to an extent dangerous to the Protestant establishment in both kingdoms. A resolution was at last taken to express disapprobation of such extravagance; and the Lord-Lieutenant is coming away, after having made it utterly ineligible and even hazardous for any prudent man of character to become his successor. This makes a great break in the Rockingham connection; but I do not believe that it will effectuate any further changes in the Cabinet.

Parliament goes on quietly: the House of Lords is chiefly occupied in forming a judgment on Hastings's trial; the House of Commons is discussing the taxes, but without hostility. Government has a complete victory in the election of a new member for London; the candidates stood upon the opposite grounds of peace and war, and the peace candidate is beat.

With respect to that great question, it seems to be the general sentiment to make every effort to send an immense naval force to sea, and to try in other points of view what time may produce. Our continental prospects are certainly most lamentable, but we take no blame to ourselves for their being so; the whole is fairly to be attributed to the wretched inefficiency of some powers, to the refined and mistaken policy of others; to the short-sighted selfishness, duplicity, and

Hosted by Google

perhaps I might add, to the notorious corruption and treachery of some of their ministers.

Your sister Lady Elizabeth (who is a most pleasing and excellent creature) comes to us occasionally, and makes grievous complaints of the long intervals which you put in your correspondence with her. I hear frequently from Blenheim, and am going to-morrow night with my four girls to the Duke of Marlborough's box at the Opera.

Believe me, my dear Lord Henry, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Palace Yard, March 24th, 1795.

My dear Lord Henry,—I am assured from the office that this packet shall be forwarded to you by a servant of Mr. Whitworth's, who is returning to him to-night. In that hope I send the newspapers of ten days, to this evening inclusive, and I spare to myself the details which you will find in print. You will find them malignantly coloured, but you know how to put the right construction on them. It is difficult to say what is the present state of general speculations respecting the war; people are disheartened and dull. They are also mortified to an extreme, as to continental affairs and prospects; but there is a persuasion that we shall be superior at sea, and that time may produce some favourable turn at land. And though provisions are high, and are rising from day to day, the good temper of the kingdom is not yet materially changed.

Lord Fitzwilliam has contrived to create a difficulty and danger in Ireland: but I have good hopes that in the result nothing will happen beyond the universal persuasion that his talents were wretchedly suited to the Viceroyalty.

Lord Dalkeith * was married this morning to Miss

* Sir Walter Scott's friend.

Hosted by Google

H. Townshend (a pretty little girl), and has good prospects, as she has an excellent character, though her fortune is small; and I believe that Mr. Jenkinson was also married to-day to Lady E. Hervey*: she is clever, but is seven years older than him; and if she had had sixty thousand pounds instead of six, Lord Hawkesbury would have been better pleased with the choice.

Your sister Lady Charlotte is not to come to town till the news is received at Blenheim that the Princess has landed. She will therefore be hard run in point of time, and will not have a moment to rouse herself from the tranquillity of Blenheim.

It is feared that the Austrian decision on the subject of the loan and treaty was aboard the Hamburgh packet which is said to have been taken.

We intend to go on the 31st for three weeks to Blenheim: Lady Auckland is quite recovered, and is always at home, and has an assembly of thirty or forty people every night, and sometimes more. We shall be glad to get to our farm.

I think that Hastings will be acquitted: though there are serious doubts as to some of the charges of presents.

No more at present.

Believe me, my dear Lord Henry, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Eden Farm, April 2nd, 1795.

My dear Lord Henry, — Having availed myself of many late occasions to write to you, I have little to say at present. My last was forwarded by Mr. Eden, who carried the ratification of our treaty with Russia; I send nothing on that subject, as it must be a very stale one to you. It is wonderful that such an event

* Youngest daughter of Lord Bristol, the Bishop of Derry.

Hosted by Google

should make so little impression in this country; but the truth is, that we are disgusted with the whole chapter of continental connections, which in any shape or form will long be unpopular. Still, however, the late accounts that the King of Prussia is not treating for peace, but is marching to our aid in Westphalia, are learnt with much apparent satisfaction, and I heartily hope that they may be confirmed.*

We are come to this place with our ten children till about the 20th instant, for the benefit of our boys, and their better amusement during the holidays. We shall consequently escape all the *tintamarre* of the royal wedding, and we are not sorry for it. "*Nous avons tant vu le soleil.*" Besides, we have a prospect of much social dissipation next year, if the world continues so long in a state of civilisation; as we must then bring forward our two eldest girls into the bustle.

Provisions are dear, and that circumstance has occasioned disturbances in some of the counties; but in general the people are prosperous and attached to Government; and the advance of the season may be expected to restore plenty of food to the markets. The naval preparations oblige us to suspend the export trade, which is a check to manufactures. In the mean time, the storm is collecting in the opposite ports of France, the Netherlands, and Holland; but we shall be able to meet it on our own element.

The Irish businesses engage attention in the political circle. Lord Fitzwilliam, in two ostensible letters addressed to Lord Carlisle, who had written to him on the imprudence of his conduct, accuses Mr. Pitt of a plot to convert him and his friends into *vile tools;* and he adds that the Duke of Portland is the dupe of that plot! There are other passages in his letters so extravagant that they have an appearance of insanity.

* A treaty of peace between Prussia and France was signed April 5.

Hosted by Google

Believe me, my dear Lord Henry, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Loughborough to Lord Auckland.

Hampstead, April 10th, 1795.

My dear Lord,—The Irish business alarms me much less than it did. Every account from thence concurs in stating the country to be in a quieter state than could be expected after all the endeavours to irritate men's minds. The publication of Lord Fitzwilliam's letters has done more harm to himself than to any other person, as most men are so sensible of the offence committed by such a communication, that I believe the public opinion will support those who will not permit themselves to follow so pernicious an example, but determine to observe that silence which their duty to the public and their oath imposes.

I ever am, my dear Lord, yours very sincerely,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

Mr. Storer to Lord Auckland.

Devonshire Street, April 13th, 1795.

Dear Lord Auckland,—Upon my return to town, I found your letter waiting for me. While your place gives you nothing but pleasure, my miserable hovel* affords me very little else but trouble and torment, so much so, that it leaves me no time for my old pursuits; indeed, my rooms are so full, that instead of thinking of adding to the trumpery which I have, I wish very much to get rid of half of it. The narrowness of my library alone, without any other consideration, would hinder me from placing a collection of the "Moniteur" in it, particularly as the work is to come out in numbers. If, however, I can, being backed with your recommendation of the collection,

* At Purley.

Hosted by Google

be of use to the author, I will not fail to do all in my power to promote its success.

If I can, I will contrive to pay you a visit at Beckenham before the 21st; but I am obliged to watch over the progress of a Navigation Bill, which, I am afraid, in spite of all my care, will turn out to my complete discomfiture. The Reading gentlemen, whom you lately defeated in their attack on the highway, are trying what they can to invade me by water. The breach is made against me in two places, and how I am to defend myself, though armed with right, I know not. Right against might is but a weak antagonist; and if some θεος, in shape of Lord Caernarvon, or yourself, does not descend to protect, I must bid adieu to Purley, and *tam culta novalia barbarus habebit.* I think that you would do me a favour, but if I ask anything of you in this matter, it would be no further than to do what you think consistent with the *strictest justice,* as I should only request that you would support my cause, as far as the most scrupulous conscientiousness would allow you.

I have seen Lord Fitzwilliam's two letters: they are of great importance to me, inasmuch as they add a new portrait to my *collection of noble authors;* and without entering into the dispute how far the publication is wise or discreet, the misunderstandings of these great personages are to us little ones matter of great curiosity and entertainment. When Lord Fitzwilliam's veracity is placed in competition with Mr. Pitt's, as I know the former well, and have no acquaintance with the latter, I must own that I have no hesitation in reposing my faith on the ex-Lord-Lieutenant, rather than on the first minister.

I am sorry that you are only a bystander; that situation will not be your lot long. I have pined away so long in inactivity, that there is no glimmering left for me; and if I can but resist the attacks of the bargemen, I must be satisfied.

Wishing you all the success which your talents and

Hosted by Google

activity merit, and begging my best compliments to Lady Auckland, I am yours most sincerely,

A. M. STORER.

Although peace had been signed, the English Government had still some slight hopes that the King of Prussia would support the cause of his sister, the Princess of Orange.

Lord Henry Spencer to Lord Grenville.

Berlin, April 24th, 1795.

My Lord,—As Colonel Calvert's * orders are to get to England as soon as possible, and as he is perfectly informed of the present state of affairs at this place, as far as our views and interests are concerned, I shall not trouble your Lordship with a long despatch by this opportunity.

His Prussian Majesty was extremely well disposed to grant me a private audience, for the purpose of learning the favourable dispositions entertained by our Government respecting him; but from that kind of timidity and helplessness which constantly counteracts the good effect of his right way of thinking, he was unwilling to take this step without the knowledge and concurrence of his ministers. He therefore desired that I would make application for an interview with him through the channel of Count Haugwitz; but as I am positively enjoined by my instructions not to make the communication in the case of the peace being already signed, and as I could not apply to Count Haugwitz for an audience with the King without giving an adequate reason for so unusual a request, I thought it best to decline it altogether in the handsomest manner I could. The good effect which I promised myself from such an interview will indeed

* Colonel Calvert had been sent on a mission respecting a new treaty, and to procure the appointment of the Duke of Brunswick as commander-in-chief of the Prussian army. — See "Calvert Correspondence," pp. 430—435.

Hosted by Google

have been completely produced by his Majesty's having been made acquainted with the general object, which he will have learnt very fully from the person* who made the application.

Upon the whole, I think I can assure your Lordship that if any unforeseen occurrence should interrupt the good understanding which now prevails between this country and France, or if at a future period Great Britain should have occasion to demand the assistance or good offices of his Prussian Majesty in the present contest, he will be much more inclined to listen to overtures for that purpose, than if he had not been apprised of the conciliatory sentiments of the English Cabinet.

I enclose a copy of the treaty, by which it appears that the statement I gave your Lordship in my No. 19 was tolerably accurate. The agreement respecting the line of demarcation is in a secret article, and I am positively assured that this is the whole, so that there is no mention made either of Poland or of the United Provinces. M. de Reede, the Dutch minister at Berlin, who is naturally sanguine on this subject, is of opinion that it might not be wholly impossible to induce the King of Prussia to recommence hostilities on the Dutch frontier, on the ground of having guaranteed the constitution of 1787, or that at least his Majesty might be induced to make a stipulation in favour of the reintegration of the Stadtholder, and to back it by very strong demonstrations. He has written a long memorial to the Prince of Orange in support of this plan, which appears to me to be liable to two objections: the one, that the abolition of the order of nobles in Holland, and the other changes made by the French, would make it a difficult and unpopular task to restore the former Government; and the other, as far as we are concerned, that if the Stadtholder were reinstated by the French, he would probably become

* Madame de Lichtenau, the King's mistress. It is stated in the "Mémoires d'un Homme d'état," vol. ii. p. 267, that Lord Henry offered her 100,000 guineas if she prevailed on the King not to make peace.

Hosted by Google

dependent on them, and would not dare to renew his connection with England.

Prince Henry, on the arrival of the treaty of peace, immediately gave it the name of a *paix glorieuse*, and this epithet is now in the mouths of everybody at this place. The King, however, has certainly expressed his disapprobation of it in very strong terms on several occasions.

Accounts have arrived here that the French are making a good use of the time allowed them by the treaty for exacting contributions in the Prussian provinces. They are cutting down the wood, pillaging the inhabitants, and seem to consider themselves in all respects as in an enemy's country. These excesses, when combined with the King's personal inclinations, might possibly give rise to more serious misunderstandings, and might even afford an opening for bringing forward the proposals in question. I hope therefore to learn from your Lordship whether I am authorised to take such a step within a limited time, in case I should see a probability of success. In the event of the plan being again brought on the carpet, I cannot say how far all the terms of the project which I have received would be agreeable to this Government: though they would have every reason to be satisfied with the amount of the sum proposed, yet I should fear that the delay of six weeks before the *first* payment, could not possibly suit with the deplorable state of their finances. The payment of the arrears of the former subsidy has always been insisted upon by them as a *sine quâ non*, but on this I suppose they would relax. Lastly: the Duke of Brunswick could not possibly have the command of the combined army, because the King of Prussia has no motive for making another campaign but the vanity of commanding in person.—I am, &c.,

H. SPENCER.

Hosted by Google

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Palace Yard, May 1st, 1795.

My dear Lord Henry,—On this day se'nnight I sent you a scrawl and a newspaper by a messenger to be forwarded from a German post-office. The incidents which have since taken place are not highly interesting. The stocks continue to rise, and the hopes of any success in war continue to fall; in truth, the former circumstance is explained by the latter. The money-holders know as well as you or I can do, that the whole continental system is involved in calamity, disgrace, and confusion; and that it is now impossible for the great powers, even if they possessed wisdom enough to act together, to restore the equilibrium by any means either of force or intervention. They infer, however, that, England having no attainable object, will naturally confine her exertions to the sea, and that, the French not liking that mode of war, we shall somehow arrive at something which will be called a pacification, under which England may find prosperity, and the other powers must do as they can.

One of the present objects of conversation both in political and private circles, is the Prince of Wales's debt. It is supposed to be about 640,000*l*. The House of Commons received the message with unreserved marks of disapprobation, and the House of Lords have been careful to say only that they will consider the message with a disposition to preserve the dignity of the Prince's situation. An order of the House of Commons for a call in a fortnight, is all that has been done ostensibly. In the mean time there are several private meetings, and many members insist on a rigorous account of the debt by a secret committee, &c. It is a mortifying situation.

The debate on the Irish business has been postponed, on account of the Duke of Portland's illness.

Hosted by Google

Lord Fitzwilliam is clearly connecting himself with Fox, Lord Guilford, &c.

Your sister, Lady Elizabeth, was here two nights ago, and found the two eldest girls employed in doing the honours of the house to an assembly of about fifty people—Lady Auckland being confined to her chamber by a feverish indisposition, which is not yet quite removed.

The Duke of Marlborough talks of coming to town in about ten days; I do not believe it till I see him.

I am interrupted. Yours ever affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Eden Farm, May 21st, 1795.

My dear Lord Henry,—We settled here on the 15th, and have been perfectly quiet, and even without company, except that our neighbours, Sir P. Burrel and Lady Willoughby, have occasionally called for ten minutes, and that all the Rose family were here yesterday to dinner. We have sundry small improvements going forward, such as new seats, new walks, &c.; and I ride once every day, and sometimes twice, with one or more of the girls; and Lady Auckland drives out in the phaeton twice a day; all which, with the help of reading, walking, and the details of education, carries us through the twenty-four hours without languor. Our place is at this moment in high beauty, and I heartily wish that you could pass the evening with us.

We received a shock yesterday from the sudden death of Mrs. Beresford*, in her way from Bath to London. She was a charming and excellent woman, both in person and in mind. It is a sad calamity to

* A daughter of Sir W. Montgomery. Mrs. Beresford, with her two sisters, Lady Mountjoy and Lady Townshend, sat to Sir Joshua Reynolds for "the Three Graces adorning the altar of Hymen," now in the National Gallery.

Hosted by Google

her husband and children, who will probably come to us if he has fortitude enough for such a meeting after the course of happiness in which we have been accustomed to see him. These events in private life are like the scenes of folly and of puerility in the great political life; they remove the delusion and show that the whole is a poor and precarious vision.

Our session will last three or four weeks longer. The Austrian loan being accepted, must be stated to the House, and will occasion one day's debate. There will be a debate in each House on the peace, or rather on the war (for, though we can hardly be said now to be making war, I do not yet see any prospect of peace); and there will be several more disagreeable debates on the Prince of Wales's debts, unless he can persuade himself to retire (without an establishment) on 40,000*l.* a year, and to give up the remainder to his creditors. On the whole, I do not think that the session can close before the 20th of June.

There is neither law nor logic in the sentence on Molloy.* "We think him guilty, and therefore acquit him; we think him an excellent officer, and therefore we withdraw him from all command."

Lady Auckland desires to be kindly mentioned. This is a chit-chat sort of a scrawl.

Believe me, my dear Lord Henry, very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

In the following letter of Lord Loughborough, it will be seen that he does not mention the coronation oath as an obstruction to Catholic emancipation.

This idea was Lord Fitz-Gibbon's, and it was most probably communicated through Lord Westmoreland to the King, who, from this time, always considered it as an insurmountable objection to any concession on this subject.

In a letter dated Feb. 14th, 1795, from Lord Fitz-

* For his conduct on the 1st of June.

Hosted by Google

Gibbon to Mr. Beresford*, there is the following passage:—"The only acts which now affect Irish Papists, are the Act of Supremacy and Uniformity, and the Bill of Rights. The King cannot give his assent to a repeal of any of these, without a direct breach of the coronation oath, of the act limiting the succession of the crown, and of the articles of union with Scotland. Whenever Mr. Grattan brings in his bill I mean to send it over to England, with comments in reference to British statutes which certainly bind the King on this subject."

In another letter of the 2nd of March, Lord Fitz-Gibbon reiterates his arguments respecting the coronation oath, and adds, "If this has not occurred to Dundas and Loughborough, it would not be amiss to remind them of it; and as to the latter, if by any fatality Mr. Grattan's bill should find its way to England for the royal assent, I do, in my conscience, think that he will stake his head on the experiment, if he should affix the seal of England to it."

Lord Loughborough to Lord Auckland.

May 27th, 1795.

My dear Lord,—I return you Lord Fitz-Gibbon's letters, which I think entitled to very great consideration. The quiet that has taken place in Ireland, is an evident proof of the danger of the measure† proposed by Lord Fitzwilliam, and I am very much inclined to adopt the opinion, that many of those who were most active in exciting the agitation of that question were actuated by the hope of producing a much greater change in the constitution.

I am not, however, convinced that the Act of 1793 was more favourable than it ought to have been to the Catholics. That measure was taken before I came into administration, but it had my entire approbation, on the following grounds:—

* Beresford Correspondence, vol. ii p. 73.
† Catholic Emancipation.

Hosted by Google

First, because I think it good policy to lessen (as far as the public safety will permit) the distinctions between the subjects of the same state. Secondly, the Catholics in Ireland would have felt themselves in a worse condition by comparison with those in England, if no alteration had taken place in their favour after the relaxation of the laws against Catholics that had taken place here. Thirdly, the Act of 1793 proceeded no farther than the English Act, except with respect to the army*, and it seemed to me that such an extension, which must necessarily be always under the control of Government, was not merely safe, but might be rendered very useful, in the peculiar circumstances of Ireland, by finding employment abroad for a number of those who would otherwise remain idle and discontented at home. The Act of 1793 has, however, a very distinct line. It has left open to the Catholics the enjoyment of all rights that may be exercised by those who are placed in the condition of the governed, and reserved from them all situations that compose the government of the country, which is a fair and just distinction warranted by the policy of most states. The political strength of the Protestants of Ireland is, I believe, no less essential to its internal welfare than it is to the connection between that country and Great Britain; and I take that opinion to be very firmly established here, even amongst those few who thought (erroneously in my opinion) that further concessions were advisable.

Yours ever,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

Lord Auckland to Lord Henry Spencer.

Eden Farm, June 1st, 1795.

My dear Lord Henry,—The session is prolonged by the difficulties attending the arrangement of the Prince of Wales's debts; much ill-humour prevails

* By the Act of 1793, Roman Catholics were allowed to serve as officers, but not on the staff.

Hosted by Google

thereon in the House of Commons, and certainly with some reason; and it seems possible that the Prince will at last find it necessary to offer to take only from 40,000*l.* to 60,000*l.* a year, to live in the country, and to abandon every idea of a splendid establishment.

It is true that Lord Howe is retired, from the effects of age. Our fleet is gaining great strength by the measures for manning the navy, which have proved effectual.

There is some idea of sending Lord Cornwallis to Clairfayt. I confess that I have no expectations of a land campaign; the improvident, undignified, and unwise conduct of the German powers has certainly given a complete triumph to the French babble upon the Continent, and leaves Europe in a state of oppression and wretchedness, which must produce further convulsions, and probably end in oversetting three or four more thrones.

Within this household we are going on as usual, and are very comfortable in our retirement; we are seldom above two days without having visitors, and company sufficient to keep us from being rusticated. Our lawn and walks are in high order, and considerably extended; I think that you never have seen them in the summer.

This is the season for marriages:—Lord Titchfield is to marry Miss Scott (300,000*l.*); the elder Mr. Ryder* is to marry your cousin, Lord Stafford's youngest daughter, who has neither beauty nor fortune, but is well spoken of; another of your cousins, Sir John Wrottesley, marries Lady Caroline Bennet. There are some others, but I forget them. Lord Lauderdale is in a very bad state of health. We have been much shocked by the death of Mrs. Beresford, with whom we had long lived in intimate friendship; she was an excellent creature. We are expecting her husband and daughters, and dread their arrival.

George Moore is to marry Lady Maria Hay (Lady

* Father of the present Lord Harrowby.

Hosted by Google

Errol's daughter); it is an old attachment,—there is no fortune.

Yours affectionately,
AUCKLAND.

Lord Henry Spencer to Lord Grenville.

Berlin, June 13th, 1795.

My Lord,—Your Lordship will have learned from Switzerland that M. de Hardenberg dined lately at Huningue, by appointment, with Pichegru and Merlin de Thionville. The latter took great pains to persuade him that Austria was negotiating with France by means of Carletti*, who, as he asserted, kept open house, at an immense expense, at Paris, and gave dinners of two hundred covers, for the purpose of making a party in favour of Austria. He also asserted that the Emperor had again brought forward the plan of exchanging Bavaria for the Low Countries, and he desired M. de Hardenberg to apprise the Duke of Deux Ponts of this circumstance. The Duke of Deux Ponts immediately caused a note to be presented on the subject by his minister at Munich; the Court of Munich made representations at Vienna; M. de Thugut declared that the whole was a calumny invented by the Court of Prussia, and M. de Lucchesini has now received orders to explain that the report was first spread by Merlin de Thionville.

In general, M. de Hardenberg is of opinion, that among the leading men whom he saw in the course of his negotiation, there exists a very strong disposition both for promoting a general peace, and for re-establishing the monarchy in France.

I am, &c.,
H. SPENCER.

Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland.

Dropmore, July 13th, 1795.

My dear Lord,—I have just received here the

* The Tuscan Minister.

Hosted by Google

melancholy account of the death of Lord Henry Spencer*, an event which I most sincerely lament on every account, and which I consider as a great loss to the public service, having always entertained the highest opinion of his talents, his discretion, and his principles. As Mr. Gray informs me that he has written on this melancholy occasion to the Duke of Marlborough, and has left to your Lordship the painful task of announcing to him the loss of a son of so much merit, I do not think it right for me to break in upon his Grace at this time with any letter; but I am very anxious that he should at a proper moment be informed how much I share in the concern he must feel on such an occasion, and how desirous I am of testifying, by every mode that can be in my power, my great and sincere regard for the memory of so excellent a young man.

Believe me ever, my dear Lord, with the greatest truth, your most faithful and obedient humble servant,

GRENVILLE.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Hugh Elliot.

Eden Farm, Kent, July 16th, 1795.

My dear Elliot,—I received a letter from you, dated 12th May, in which you promised to send another in a few days. The expectation of it is one of the causes why I have postponed writing to you longer than I should otherwise have done. I now send this scrawl by the servant, whom I am despatching to Mr. Gray at Dresden.

We came to this place near two months ago, and have resided here without intermission, except for one short visit to the Orange family at Hampton Court. We could be very happy in the existence which we enjoy in our lawn and library, if extraneous circumstances did not occur from time to time to afflict us, and if we could see any prospect of this distracted world arriving at a state of repose. Our children are equal in all essential points to our utmost

* Lord Henry died of apoplexy, on the 3rd of July, at Berlin.

Hosted by Google

wishes; our means, though not large, are nearly equal to the style of life that we like. We have many friends who come to us, and whose society is pleasant; and my old official connections give me as much official information as I wish to have, and sometimes much more.

I cannot write about political subjects; they are grown too large for a letter. I consider the continental war as palsied, and, in truth, as at an end. I am not sanguine in expectation of any permanent good to result from the Royalists landing in Quiberon Bay; but in saying this I am unfashionable, and some* who have better means of information than I possess or wish to acquire, have great hopes that an impression may be made in that quarter. I thought so once; but it was two years ago exactly.

Upon our own element we are doing well, and, in despite of the loss of Holland, we seem likely to maintain a decided superiority in the Western Atlantic and Mediterranean seas. In the mean time there is no doubt that the enemy is in great distress — without money, provisions, or the use of the guillotine. The interior of this country has, during the last four or five years, been the only part of Europe on which it was permitted to look with cheerfulness and good hope. I do not think it materially changed; but I will not be answerable that we can much longer find funds, however necessary, for the war on a large scale, without serious ill-humour, the tendency to which is much promoted by the very short produce in Europe and America of the last year's harvests, and by the harshness of the present summer. Bread, which used to be from 6*d.* to 8*d.* the quartern loaf, is now at 1*s.*, and is kept at that price with great difficulty and some management; and during the last five or six weeks we have had cold winds and continued rains; still, however, there is great vegetation, and promising crops are on the ground.

* Mr. Pitt was very sanguine.

Hosted by Google

I prolong my lines on other subjects, through a weakness of mind and an unwillingness to speak of poor Lord Henry. His death has been a most severe affliction. Lady Auckland and I had nearly the same affection for him that we feel for our own children; and he well deserved it, for he was most warmly attached to me. I never have known a more promising young man. He united every good and brilliant quality of which the heart and mind are capable. I looked to him as rising to an eminence which would have been matter of just pride to me; and I thought, too, that I should pass many cheerful days with him in the declining period of my life. I begin to think that we too often have occasion to repeat the old and bitter phrase, that "man proposes and God disposes." You also will have felt great grief under this loss.

Believe me ever very affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

M. —— to Miss Eleanor Eden.

September 6th, 1795.

Dear Miss Eden,—I never thought the day would come, when it would be my strange fate to see your house in the *Voorhout* with sorrow, and to be glad, at the same time, not to see you in it. These mixed feelings I have often experienced in the course of a year so fatal to this country, and calamitous to many others; and it was very painfully renewed yesterday, when I went to look out for some books which I had lent to Lord St. Helens. On this occasion, I indulged my sad heart in the pensive pleasure of walking through all the apartments. I passed by none. *Here* (said I to myself) sat the peerless mother with her amiable daughters in useful conversation; and *there* presided, at the hospitable and friendly table, the respectable father whose remembrance is precious to the wise and good in this place — who are now partly dispersed — while the rest are scarcely visible

Hosted by Google

amidst the barbarous rabble of soldiers and sovereigns that fill our streets.

I have often taken up my pen to tell you something of the situation of your old and faithful servant, and the scenes that are passing in odious succession before his eyes; but until I became accustomed to the present state of things, I had not presence and tranquillity of mind enough to write anything but broken sentences, which would only have expressed the anguish of my heart and the confusion of my ideas, and I could not think of troubling you with such things.

The Hague!—alas! you would not know it again, —it is a degraded place—all the comforts of society are blasted — we look at one another with dejected and anxious countenances — we are buoyed up at times with false reports, which are followed by despondency, and we believe again and again, though we have been again and again disappointed. Thus we pass these evil days—and distressing they certainly are to every feeling heart;—they are peculiarly so to those who seek for no sources of consolation but what are to be derived from possible events and human counsels. I thank God this is not my case; and I think often, with pleasure, that it will not be yours, should you be called to suffer, which is a part of our task in this life, from which no age or station is entirely exempted.

The accounts of yesterday (5th of September) are certainly favourable, and the new rulers of this unhappy country cannot conceal their perplexity. There is also a spirit of dissension between them and the French —between the French and the Bataves. The Bataves quarrel with them both; and the clubs are aspiring after an ascendant over them all. You cannot form any idea of what it is to live under such a government. It is impossible to describe such a motley mixture of atrocity and ridiculousness as is daily exhibited in their proceedings. The clubs are striking subjects for such a pencil as Hogarth's; but it is a

Hosted by Google

tragical farce; and when their journals surprise me sometimes into a fit of laughter, I correct myself, and think I grow delirious, to laugh in such times, and at such odious objects.

You may have heard that I attempted to cross the Channel in January last, and was fatally disappointed. This attempt, made in such a rigorous season, was followed by a long fit of the gout, and a violent cough, which confined me seven weeks to my chamber. The rest of my house was filled with my family, increased from five to twelve by the dismission of my two sons from their employments, and from that time to this day I have always had a French officer quartered in my house, sometimes two. My eldest son, with his family, removed in May last to North Holland, which made a diminution of six in the number of my guests. But every fortnight my French guest retires, and is the same day succeeded by another. I have been very fortunate in the characters and conduct of these guests, who have been all civil, and some of them agreeable — hungry and thirsty were they all. All our towns have been cruelly burdened by this *hospitality;* and the misery it has produced in the families of the least substantial burghers (who have been charged with *carmagnoles*, often three at a time) is most distressing to think of. In other respects, the Hague has enjoyed more tranquillity than any other place, for which we are indebted to the French garrison, which has been a check on our clubs, and even on our sovereigns. These latter are, at this moment, *nobly* employed in preparing an auction of the household furniture of the Court, of which a catalogue is advertised in the public papers. This is a sample of the *dignity* of their administration, and of their perfect *equality* with the lowest and meanest of their *brethren.*

In Amsterdam, acts of *patriotic* cruelty are daily committed since the French garrison left that place, and a considerable number of innocent persons have been desperately wounded, several killed, by the club

Hosted by Google

gentry. A man who had been falsely charged with crying out *Vive le Prince d'Orange!* and was acquitted by the court in consequence of the testimonies of twenty witnesses, was audaciously stabbed, before the face of the judge, by two or three *clubbists*, and is since dead of his wounds. They have been less bloody, though not less enraged, in Friesland, where they have shattered the tombs of the Orange family, dug up their bodies, and made of them a *feu de joie*, which heroic deed the club of Leewarden applauded with a pompous eulogy, and rewarded with a few florins.

All this is foul play, and foolish play. It is playing deep, and, in the progress of the game, makes them daily lose *tricks* as well as *honours;* for it is evident that they are going *downhill*, as we say, and that a *well-concerted* opposition will end the business.

But even should this critical moment end conformably to our wishes, long will it be before this ill-fated country will return to the state in which you left it; and still longer before it recovers the state in which I have seen it — if ever that should happen — which I do not believe will be the case. I could say many things on this head, and tell you why I am not elated beyond measure even with the prospect of a successful change in our affairs; but all this would be too serious, and would, indeed, be too much tinged with the dismal colour of my mind, to be interesting to you. It would come disagreeably across the pleasant and peaceful frame of mind which you surely enjoy in the rural scenes of Beckenham, at this fine season, amidst the beauties of nature, and the still superior charms of moral order and harmony in the sweetest of all domestic societies. Now, imagination transmits some rays of your comfort at Beckenham to my pensive thoughts, and they are truly soothing to me. The beauties of nature — such as we have them here — are nearly lost to me; they are sullied and degraded by the objects that are mingled with them. The wood and the gardens of the old Court

Hosted by Google

are always full of *carmagnoles*, male and female, so that I cannot bear the sight of them, and never go near them. The country-seats, which I used to frequent in summer, are inhabited by dragoons; even the *Vyver* before my door, and its pleasant little island, are dishonoured. The shrubs of the island were rooted out to make place for a fire-work; and the swans, I believe, have been banished (for I see them no more), on account of their attachment to the exiled house, or perhaps by the drums of the French parade, which trumpet and drum every day for two hours before my door.

However, though I suffer in several respects, and keenly, yet I am not dejected. I see many around me who are more to be pitied than I am. Besides, I am old, which I consider as a privilege in such times as these, since it brings me near the period when I shall be *young* again, without being exposed to see any *revolutions*, but such as will exhibit new scenes of order and happiness. At the same time, I don't despair of seeing you before that period. I have not given up the thoughts of leaving this country, and retiring to some pleasant village in England with my daughter, to pass the remainder of my days; and I have given commission to a friend to seek such a place for me, where I may have the prospect of enjoying retirement and tranquillity. I am sick of this place, whose present aspect is doubly painful, from a reflection on the many comfortable years I have passed in it.

May I presume that you will excuse me for troubling you with all this detail about myself and my feelings? I think you will treat it with indulgence, because you are good and gracious, and surely not forgetful of the ardent and respectful sentiments of affection and gratitude which I daily cherish, and shall never cease to feel, for the heads and branches of the respectable and amiable family of Beckenham. Present to them all, I beseech you, the warmest good

Hosted by Google

wishes and respects of your faithful and ever devoted servant,

P. F.*

I say nothing of the family at Hampton Court, for whom my heart bleeds afresh every day. I have been comforted by accounts of the strength of mind with which they bear their hard fate.

* It is impossible to discover by whom this letter was written.

Hosted by Google

CHAP. XXXV.

Lord Auckland's Pamphlet. — Mr. Burke's Indignation. — Mr. Pitt does not appreciate Burke's Rhapsodies.—Mr. Jackson's Mission to Vienna. — Austrian Disasters in Italy. — Conduct of Sardinia. — Debate in the House of Lords. — Finis Poloniæ. — Lord Auckland's Opinions on Diplomatic Education. — Retreat of the Austrians from Milan. — The Nobility and People of Vienna all for Peace. — Inefficiency of General Beaulieu in Italy. — The King of Sardinia under the Yoke of France. — Disgust of Lord Sheffield at the State of Affairs. — Letters of Perregaux respecting Peace. — Lord Auckland's Advice to Mr. Pitt.

THE coalition against France was now virtually dissolved. Holland was subdued, Prussia and Spain had made a disgraceful peace, the defection of Sardinia was imminent, even Hanover was unfriendly, and Russia, in spite of her treaty with England, did nothing but divide Poland and exhort other nations to fight in the cause of order. Austria alone continued the war with great success on the Rhine, and it is not improbable that, but for the disasters in Italy, she would have been able to secure a satisfactory peace. But the letters of Sir Morton Eden show that although M. Thugut, "the Pitt of Austria," was in favour of the war, the whole of the nobility were opposed to further sacrifices for a policy which they considered would benefit Great Britain alone. This being the case, the thoughts of Mr. Pitt naturally turned towards peace, and it was with his sanction that Lord Auckland published his celebrated pamphlet which brought him into collision with Burke, who was horrified at the idea of a negotiation with a regicide government.

Hosted by Google

Lord Auckland to Mr. Burke.

Eden Farm, Kent, Oct. 28th, 1795.

My dear Sir,—Though, in the stormy ocean of the last twenty-three years, we have seldom sailed on the same tack, there has been nothing hostile in our signals or manœuvres; and, on my part at least, there has been a cordial disposition towards friendly and respectful sentiments. Under that influence I now send to you a small work which exhibits my fair and full opinions on the arduous circumstances of the moment, "as far as the cautions necessary to be observed will permit me to go beyond general ideas."

Three or four of those friends with whom I am most connected in public and private life are pleased to think that the statement in question (which at first made part of a confidential paper) may do good; and accordingly a very large impression will be published to-day. I neither seek to avow the publication, nor do I wish to disavow it. I have no anxiety in that respect but to contribute my mite to do service at a moment when service is much wanted.

I am, my dear Sir, most sincerely yours,

AUCKLAND.

Mr. Burke to Lord Auckland.

Beaconsfield, Oct. 30th, 1795, Friday evening.

My dear Lord,—I am perfectly sensible of the very flattering honour you have done me in turning any part of your attention towards a dejected old man, buried in the anticipated grave of a feeble old age, forgetting and forgotten in an obscure and melancholy retreat.

In this retreat, I have nothing relative to this world to do, but to study all the tranquillity that in the state of my mind I am capable of. To that end I find it but too necessary to call to my aid an ob-

Hosted by Google

livion of most of the circumstances, pleasant and unpleasant, of my life; to think as little, and indeed to know as little, as I can, of everything that is doing about me; and above all, to divert my mind from all presagings and prognostications of what I must (if I let my speculations loose) consider as of absolute necessity to happen after my death, and possibly even before it. Your address to the public, which you have been so good as to send to me, obliges me to break in upon that plan, and to look a little on what is behind, and very much on what is before me. It creates in my mind a variety of thoughts, and all of them unpleasant.

It is true, my Lord, what you say, that through our public life we have generally sailed on somewhat different tacks. We have so, undoubtedly, and we should do so still, if I had continued longer to keep the sea. In that difference, you rightly observe that I have always done justice to your skill and ability as a navigator, and to your good intentions towards the safety of the cargo and of the ship's company. I cannot say now that we are on different tacks. There would be no propriety in the metaphor. I can sail no longer. My vessel cannot be said to be even in port. She is wholly condemned and broken up. To have an idea of that vessel you must call to mind what you have often seen on the Kentish road. Those planks of tough and hardy oak, that used for years to brave the buffets of the Bay of Biscay, are now turned with their warped grain and empty trunnion-holes into very wretched pales for the enclosure of a wretched farmyard.

The style of your pamphlet, and the eloquence and power of composition you display in it, are such as do great honour to your talents; and in conveying any other sentiments would give me very great pleasure. Perhaps I do not very perfectly comprehend your purpose, and the drift of your arguments. If I do not, pray do not attribute my mistake to want of candour, but to want of sagacity. I confess your

Hosted by Google

address to the public, together with other accompanying circumstances, has filled me with a degree of grief and dismay which I cannot find words to express. If the plan of politics there recommended (pray excuse my freedom) should be adopted by the King's councils, and by the good people of this kingdom (as, so recommended, undoubtedly it will), nothing can be the consequence but utter and irretrievable ruin to the Ministry, to the Crown, to the Succession, to the importance, to the independence, to the very existence of this country. This is my feeble, perhaps, but clear, positive, decided, long and maturely reflected, and frequently declared opinion, from which all the events which have lately come to pass, so far from turning me, have tended to confirm beyond the power of alteration, even by your eloquence and authority. I find, my dear Lord, that you think some persons, who are not satisfied with the securities of a Jacobin peace, to be persons of intemperate minds. I may be, and I fear I am, with you in that description; but pray, my Lord, recollect, that very few of the causes which make men intemperate can operate upon me. Sanguine hopes, vehement desires, inordinate ambition, implacable animosity, party attachments, or party interests, all these with me have no existence. For myself or for a family (alas! I have none) I have nothing to hope or to fear in this world. I am attached by principle, inclination, and gratitude, to the King, and to the present Ministry.

Perhaps you may think that my animosity to opposition is the cause of my dissent, on seeing the politics of Mr. Fox (which, while I was in the world, I combated by every instrument which God had put into my hands, and in every situation on which I had taken part) so completely, if I at all understand you, adopted in your Lordship's book; but it was with pain I broke with that great man for ever in that cause, and I assure you it is not without pain that I differ with your Lordship on the same principles. But it is of no concern. I am far below the region

Hosted by Google

of those great and tempestuous passions. I feel nothing of the intemperance of mind. It is rather sorrow and dejection than anger.

Once more, my best thanks for your very polite attention, and do me the favour to believe me, with the most perfect sentiments of respect and regard, my dear Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

EDMUND BURKE.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Sunday evening, Nov. 8th.

My dear Lord,—I shall be particularly glad of an opportunity of conversing with you on the three points mentioned in the letter which I have just received from you. That respecting corn is above all pressing; and I agree very much in the view you take of a great part of that subject. Have the goodness to call here a little before ten on Tuesday morning; I hope to have half an hour's leisure.

Yours sincerely,

W. PITT.

I return Burke's letter, which is like other rhapsodies from the same pen, in which there is much to admire, and nothing to agree with.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Vienna, Sunday, Nov. 8th, 1795.

My dear Brother,—In a short letter that I wrote to you on the 24th past, you will have seen my apprehension that our rulers were sending hither some one with an extraordinary commission, and that Count Stahremberg had intimated that you were pitched upon for the purpose; this, of course, must and would have given me great and unfeigned pleasure: but I declared to Baron Thugut my utter dis-

Hosted by Google

belief of your ever again accepting any foreign employment.

On the night of the following Monday I was disturbed by the arrival of a letter by express from Mr. Jackson, informing me that he should be with me in a few hours, and that he supposed me to be already informed by Lord Grenville of the object of his mission (of which, however, I had had no previous intimation). His arrival on the Tuesday threw the *badauds* of Vienna into a state of fermentation, and of course gave rise to many unpleasant conjectures of my loss of favour, confidence, &c., &c. I, however, received him very well; the public despatch that he brought left it to my discretion to carry him or not to M. de Thugut; but Lord Grenville's private letter, of which I enclose a copy, left me, as you see, no choice. Thither I consequently carried him, and I give you my honour, that, besides some long pompous phrases of no import, the only thing he said was, "Was the House of Austria prepared, at a peace, to cede to the enemy her Low Country possessions?" I saw by Thugut's eye and manner that he thought such a messenger a mere *hors-d'œuvre;* and, on our return to my house, I put into his hands copies of two of my late despatches (for instructions similar to what he conveyed to me were brought by Shaw on the 4th, and answered on the 10th and 24th), and he immediately acknowledged that nothing had been left unsaid, and that they formed a full and faithful relation of what had just passed. I should observe, that, on coming out of M. Thugut's office, he said, "*I may go back to-morrow: nothing is to be done with this man.*" M. de Thugut has once told me that Stahremberg had informed him, by Mr. Jackson, that the ministers had meant to send you, but that he, knowing your sentiments were unfavourable to his Court, had prevented it. Neither the one nor the other are believed here, and in every respect Stahremberg's credit is at a very low ebb.

These private missions are, in my mind, never of any

Hosted by Google

avail, as has been fully proved during the period of the last five years. No minister of any experience can be the dupe of such *coups de théâtre*, though Mr. Jackson fully expected and intimated that his presence would effectuate all that we wished. I observed to him that the main point, the action of the armies, had commenced some days before the date of the despatches, and that the rest must result from the subsequent glorious successes of the Austrians. He is a true son of Con. Jackson's, and talks of Pitt, &c., as his bosom friends. His mission, and still more Lord Grenville's letter, are so mortifying to my feelings, that my resolution is taken, as you will see by my answer to his Lordship, which I also enclose.

I have already drawn up a full justification of myself from my correspondence, citing chapter and verse, but shall not transmit it unless I quit the line. My private letter you will, I firmly trust, approve; and I shall, with no small degree of impatience, expect your opinion of it. You who have been so long in the line know the bad effect of these private missions. I am the more affected on the occasion, as my zeal, activity, and services here are generally acknowledged; and even M. de Lucchesini has often stated to his Court, that I have been the cause of this Court's adhering to the coalition against France, and of thwarting all the Prussian machinations.

I expect M. de Thugut's answer to my note this evening or to-morrow, and purpose to carry Mr. Jackson again to him, that it may not be alleged against me that I prevented his receiving any verbal assurances or explanations. He cannot have any suspicion of the purport of my private letter to Lord Grenville, and he should be flattered with the attentions that I have shown him. He has given me very plainly to understand, that Lord Grenville has promised him that he shall never be employed except in a Court of active business. He has shown me his despatch to Lord Grenville, which, upon my honour, does not contain a point that I have not already re-

Hosted by Google

peatedly stated; and he goes back perfectly convinced that there is not a man in the country in favour of the war except M. de Thugut.

The answer of that minister to my note contains not anything new, and promises to continue the war, and endeavours to vindicate its inaction by a virulent attack on Hanover and Prussia; it recommends a joint application to the Empress, for the accomplishment of her promise of succour, now that the affairs of Poland are terminated; but it alleges that, as to the manner of carrying on the war, nothing can be settled till we know the sum of our strength; and as to views at the pacification, it is silent, notwithstanding all my endeavours for an explanation. This must give the King's ministers great dissatisfaction.

Thugut alleged in his defence, that he can say nothing till the moment of treating arrives, as the pretensions must depend entirely on the state of the parties.

Adieu, my dear brother; excuse the length of this letter, and believe me to be, with every good wish to you and yours, ever your obliged and affectionate brother,

MORTON EDEN.

May I beg of you to frank the enclosed two letters for Scotland?

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Friday, Nov. 20th, half-past 3.

My dear Lord,—If you have not made any engagement to render it inconvenient, will you allow me thus late to accept your offer of a quiet dinner at five to-morrow, in order to talk over points of finance?

Yours sincerely,

W. PITT.

Hosted by Google

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Vienna, Sunday, Dec. 7th, 1795.

My dear Brother,—We have been greatly elated by our glorious successes* on the Rhine, and were forming hopes of terminating our arduous struggle by an honourable peace, when we received the disastrous news from Italy of the army's being obliged to retrograde, and probably to retire altogether from the coast and to take the positions occupied by it at the opening of the campaign. The detail, however, is not known, and we are therefore willing to hope that things may not be so bad as first reported. In the mean time a reinforcement is on its march, and such a further force is ordered as will, it is to be hoped, enable the Emperor to resume his superiority in those parts. I have written to Trevor†, to urge him to use every argument to keep the Court of Turin steady to the coalition. We are apprehensive of its defection, and that, in imitation of his Prussian Majesty, it will be satisfied with the *status quo* till the peace, and leave the French, masters, to continue their operations from the county of Nice against the Emperor's Italian dominions. France and Prussia will endeavour to allure it to take an active part against us, under the specious pretext of giving peace to Italy and of facilitating to it, at the general pacification, the acquisition of some part of the Milanese. Such a conduct must draw down upon it certain destruction, but would probably put an end to the Austrian operations on the Rhine. The Piedmontese army does not exceed 15,000 men.

The conduct of the Court of Russia is, as it has ever been, selfish in the extreme. Indeed, I never entertained hopes of the magnificent promises of effective support, on the settlement of the affairs of

* General Clairfayt had made a victorious campaign on the Rhine.
† Minister at Turin.

Hosted by Google

Poland being accomplished. They are now raising new difficulties, the discussion of which will last till the opening of the campaign; and when we are once engaged in it, the views against Turkey may be carried on without any dread of molestation, and his Prussian Majesty will be left at liberty to continue to thwart the operations of this country against France.

I have a very recent letter from Mr. Wickham*, who seems in all his plans no less sanguine than the emigrants themselves. I wish and attempt to have them tried; but after all our failures, in consequence of a reliance on French reports, neither the military men nor the ministers will give in to them. I hear sometimes from Lord Macartney, who appears much out of humour.

I am anxious to receive Lord Grenville's answer to my private letter. The more I reflect on the business, the greater the injustice done me appears, and if it be not repaired it is impossible that I should remain here. I am sick of my situation, and of politics, as they now are.

I understand from good authority that we have offered a subsidy at Petersburg for the guarantee of Hanover against his Prussian Majesty.

Adieu! May every happiness attend you and yours! Ever your obliged and affectionate

MORTON EDEN.

The debate mentioned in the following letter was occasioned by Lord Lauderdale, who moved for a return of pensions granted since 1791. This motion was principally made in order to attack Burke, whose conduct was defended by Lord Auckland.

Lord Auckland's own pension was an object of attack, and he explained that a pension of 1500*l.* a year had been granted on his successful negotiation of the Commercial Treaty. This pension was given

* Minister in Switzerland.

Hosted by Google

up on the reversion of a tellership, then held by Lord Thurlow, being granted to him in 1790. Lord Auckland was now in receipt of his diplomatic pension of 2000*l.* a year, which he did not claim in 1794, as he then expected to be immediately in office.

The editor has not been able to procure a "Woodfall's Parliamentary Register" of 1795, which would give an accurate account of this debate. Lord Loughborough's reasons for his attack on Franklin have never yet been given to the world, as there is no account in the Parliamentary History.

Mr. Woodfall to Lord Auckland.

Crown Court Printing Office, Fleet Street,
Dec. 14, 1795.

My Lord,—I am infinitely obliged by your minutes of what passed in the House of Lords on the 1st instant. I came into the House just after your Lordship had sat down, and witnessed one of the most disorderly conversations I ever heard in a House of Parliament. I am anxious to give it for more than one cogent reason.

In the first place, I wish that your own account of the transaction alluded to in the motion, which referred to yourself, should appear, because it will not only gratify public curiosity, but serve to evince the ingenuousness and candour of your own mind; and next, because I thought the Lord Chancellor's explanation of his famous attack on the late Dr. Franklin, when he said before the Lords of the Privy Council that the Doctor was *homo trium literarum fur*, extremely curious. I know he once before publicly explained the reason of his treating the Doctor with such apparent grossness of asperity, but I never had the good fortune to hear it so amply and so ably justified as on the day I allude to. The harshnesses generated by the heat of debate I shall of course soften down.

Your pamphlet made a strong impression on me,

Hosted by Google

the moment I read it, from its dispassionate and sound reasoning. I have lent it to many persons, to whom I give credit for the possession of judgment and understanding, and they have all of them concurred with me in opinion respecting it. Such a publication will do more good than fifty violent pamphlets, however ably written.

I have left my house in Salisbury Square, but keep on my printing-house in this court, as usual. I attend here all the forenoon, and then join my family at a house in your Lordship's neighbourhood, Queen Street, Westminster, which I have taken for the sake of its being near the Houses of Parliament: long debates making it an unpleasant thing for me to walk into the City after standing at the bar of the House eight or ten hours; and I leave my third son to conduct the printing business when I am absent. Another motive for my moving was economy — my rent is much less, and my taxes are infinitely lower — considerations necessarily of great weight with me, as my eldest son's unfortunate illness still continues, and leaves him, his wife and two children, on my hands, in addition to my own family, so that, at a time of life when my long continued labours ought to have made me easy, no less than nine persons depend wholly on my exertions for food and raiment. Thank God, I have good health and spirits, and am as willing to work hard as ever, though I cannot help letting it come across my mind every now and then, that Government might, in their bounty, not have left so old and steady an adherent wholly unprovided for.

I beg pardon for saying so much about myself, but the kindness your Lordship has on all occasions favoured me with, since I had the honour of being known to you, makes me, perhaps, too presumptuous.

I have the honour to be your Lordship's most obedient and obliged servant,

W. WOODFALL.

Hosted by Google

Colonel Gardiner to Lord Auckland.*

Warsaw, Dec. 16th, 1795.

My dear Lord,—At the time your letter was written I had ceased to be a minister, but have been detained here ever since by reasons which had their causes in the rise and progress of the revolution, and which unfortunately still continue. My destiny is finally to act on the staff in the island of Corsica; but when I shall be able to set out for that situation is more than I can possibly foretell.

The fate of this country is at last concluded, and the troops of the three different powers will occupy their respective destinations very shortly. This town falls to the King of Prussia, and Cracovie to the Emperor, with most extensive possessions to each; the Empress takes all Lithuania and the intermediate portion of territory, which serves to unite her new acquired dominions to those she had taken at the Diet of Grodno.

The King of Poland† signed his abdication of the throne the 24th of last month. He has the permission to fix his residence where he pleases, with the exception of France, or any part of the Imperial Russian or Prussian acquisitions. He has not yet declared his intentions; but it is thought he will make choice of Rome, and there terminate his days. He is to have his debts (which are very considerable) paid, and an annual income of 200,000 ducats, so that, if he could forget *what has been*, he might still have some happy years in store.

I beg my best respects to Lady Auckland, with many thanks for her Ladyship's recollection; and I remain, my dear Lord, with sincerest regard and esteem, your Lordship's most faithful humble servant,

WILLIAM GARDINER.

* Minister-Plenipotentiary at Warsaw, brother of the first Lord Mountjoy.

† Stanislaus Augustus.

Hosted by Google

Lord Auckland to Mr. Hatsell.

Palace Yard, Feb. 20th, 1796.

My dear Sir,—You must not attribute it to indolence, or to any want of warmth, where you have expressed an interest, if I give an unsatisfactory answer to your note on the subject of Mr. Stephenson's* reference to us. Without any personal knowledge of Mr. Stuart, and ignorant also of his age, disposition, natural talents, and literary acquisitions, I feel it impossible to say what course of application may be best calculated to prepare him for the diplomatic life.

Generally speaking, it is to be wished that a foreign minister should, even at his outset, be well grounded in the history and circumstances of his own country and its dependencies; and he should also be well acquainted with the outlines, at least, of the modern states of Europe, their governments and existing alliances; and, in short, with the national transactions and treaties of the last thirty or forty years. It is also useful to have acquired some information respecting the personal history and characters of the several sovereigns now living, and of their respective ministers. Above all it is essential to have studied and practised the French language, so as to be able to converse in it without embarrassment, and to have attained the habit of writing in the English language with accuracy, facility, and precision.

The knowledge of the etiquettes of courts, of the unsettled system and principles of the law of nations, of commercial and territorial claims and interests, and of past and existing treaties, must be gradually attained to a certain degree; but all this must be a work of time, of steadiness, and of experience. There is nothing discouraging in the prospect, though,

* The Rev. Mr. Stephenson had written to Mr. Hatsell to procure Lord Auckland's advice respecting the education of his pupil for diplomacy.

Hosted by Google

at the first view, it seems to be alarming to the mind's eye. It generally happens that a foreign minister passes the first years of his career in stations where there is no call for all the attainments which I have described, and where there is little responsibility.

At any rate, a course of English and French history, from the date of our Revolution, or even from the commencement of the reign of Louis XIV., to the present time, would be useful to Mr. Stuart, and very amusing, particularly in the large class of books which includes the French *Mémoires;* and also in the summaries, such as "L'Esprit de la Fronde," "Les Intrigues du Cabinet," &c., &c. That kind of reading will go forward rapidly, and, if brought to the present time, will give a general notion of the various changes which this eventful century has produced, and is preparing. In the more strict description of diplomatic reading, there are other books which are both interesting and instructive; such as Whitelocke's account of his embassy to Sweden, in two vols. 4to.; "Les Trois Embassades du Comte de Carlisle;" Busbequius, "Les Mémoires de Madame de Villars" (which give a very curious account of Spain); above all, it would be useful to read the letters of the Cardinal d'Ossat*, which are good models of writing in matters of negotiation; there is also Sir Wm. Temple, &c. &c. Being at a distance from my library, I cannot, at the moment, recollect some books which I might more particularly wish to mention. When the foundation is well laid, Mr. Stuart may have other considerable advantages by an access to Lord Bute's State Papers. I believe that Lord Bute formed a considerable collection, and has added to it.

* Cardinal d'Ossat was considered the greatest diplomatist of his time. He was employed on several missions in Italy by Henri Quatre. "His despatches are as useful to an ambassador who hopes to succeed in his employment as the Bible and the 'Corpus Juris' to such lawyers and divines as would succeed in their respective professions."—*Perrault's Les Hommes illustres.*

Hosted by Google

I say nothing of foreign travelling; but it would be very material if Europe were now settled.

After all, much, if not the whole, will depend on Mr. Stuart's own disposition and steadiness; and so I conclude, my dear Sir, very sincerely yours,

AUCKLAND.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Hollwood, Saturday, half-past 10.

My dear Lord,—As far as one can get reason on the last interesting news, my thoughts are much in the same train as yours; but further information is necessary before any safe judgment can be formed. I have taken two or three days quietly here, for the purpose of getting through some pressing points of business. Among them is that of the taxes, with a view to which I expect Rose here to-morrow. If you have no engagement, and could have the goodness to call any time in the course of the day that suits you, or to take a business dinner, I should be very happy to talk over with you the state of the succession tax, and the possible substitutes for printed cotton, which last, I fear, must be abandoned. We might also have time to spare for the general speculations arising out of the late events. Many thanks for your book, which I hope will lay the foundation of a library.

Yours sincerely,

W. PITT.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Saturday, 6 P.M.

My dear Lord,—I have barely one moment to say how happy I should be to exchange my present studies for any of the valuable discoveries in heraldry, cookery, or physic, which the learned tribe of the Cullums have furnished you with. But I fear that the negotiation, the tax bills, the Cavalry Act, &c.

Hosted by Google

(to say nothing of my impeachment*), make it quite in vain for me to think of escaping from hence before the end of next week at soonest, when I think I have a chance of holidays.

Yours most sincerely,
W. PITT.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Sunday, 4.45.

My dear Lord,—I am much obliged to you for the account of what has passed with Mr. Hope, whose reasoning seems very conclusive. Every hour since we parted has confirmed me in our last project, for which, also, a strong additional motive has arisen from a very insolent answer which we have received from France, to an overture† of ours respecting peace. As this is holiday, perhaps you might conveniently call here, some time between nine and ten o'clock this evening, when I shall be very glad to show you those papers, and to receive that which you promise me. Yours sincerely,
W. PITT.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Vienna, Sunday, May 15th, 1796.

My dear Brother,—I wrote to you a few lines on Thursday last by Baron Muller, late the Emperor's Secretary of State at Brussels, who is sent to London for the purpose of settling with the moneyed men a new loan for this country. As he has not any political commission, nor even a correspondence with the Foreign Department, and as the arrangement and signing of the convention are solely left to Count Stahremberg, I sincerely hope that this mission may not give him umbrage. I will only add that I be-

* On the 6th of May, Mr. Grey moved resolutions for censure, as a ground of impeachment against Mr. Pitt, for a violation of the Appropriation and Pay-Office Acts. They were rejected by 209 to 38.

† Through Mr. Wickham.

Hosted by Google

lieve it to proceed from M. de Thugut's unwillingness to have anything to do with the financial arrangement, and which, had the business been left to Count Stahremberg, could not have been avoided.

If the loan takes place, the interests of the two countries must be still more closely united, and in that case I wish that you would throw in a word in favour of the appointment of ambassadors, as was the custom in the good old times, and which might be now renewed, still further to show to Europe our close connection, and to give some *éclat* to it. I am the more anxious about it, as it is not probable that a fairer opportunity will present itself. The loan I look upon as certain, since Lord Stormont has written hither that his brother-in-law, Col. Graham*, is to reside with the Italian army, in virtue of the new convention. I can bear no ill-will to Mr. Graham, whom I do not even know. I may therefore, to you, say that I wish that a person of greater military and political experience had been appointed. Our disasters† in Italy are as great as they were unexpected. Mr. Drake most fully justifies General Beaulieu; indeed, the conduct of the Court of Turin is unparalleled in history; it will probably be forced into an offensive alliance with France, or appear to be forced into it, and one way or the other be the victim of it. Its conduct has long been suspected, and apparently on very just grounds, but our friend Trevor would never admit the suspicion, and had his mouth full of fine phrases. I mentioned to you that M. de Beaulieu's first successes gave here more uneasiness than pleasure. Great reinforcements are sending to him; and General Stein, who has, I believe, done much mischief, is removed from the command at Milan; this should have been done long ago. Mr. Drake‡ talks of the French army having the fate

* Afterwards Lord Lynedoch.

† The Austrians had been totally defeated by Bonaparte, who was now driving them out of Lombardy. The battle of Lodi was fought on the 10th of May.

‡ Mr. Drake, minister to the republic of Genoa.

Hosted by Google

of that of Hannibal; that may be; but unhappily a German constitution suffers as much from the Italian climate and from the change of food, as either that of a Carthaginian or that of a Frenchman.

We have had here complete changes at the Board of Finance and in the War Office, and, I believe, for the better; but these changes have also been too long deferred; they have increased the discontent of those that are inimical to the war and to the measures of M. de Thugut's administration: the number is great, but I fear not their efforts unless our misfortunes increase, and flatter myself that we shall still make together an honourable peace. The nobility and public here are for any peace. Never was there a more degenerate race of nobility; there is not amongst them a grain of public spirit, and but little talent, and still less application. Nor is there any longer amongst them that display of magnificence that can alone in the eyes of the vulgar make up for the want of talents and of real virtues. Frocks and round hats are as general as in London.

Apropos of them, Lord Holland has lately passed through this place on his way to England, in the height of that fashion, and with his hair cropped as if round a bowl-dish. He has great good-humour, but is, I think, likely to distinguish himself amongst the most violent of the opposition. He purposed to reach London in time to take his seat this session.

From Petersburg we have not anything of importance. Whitworth now, I understand, loudly complains of that Court's taking no share in the war, notwithstanding its magnificent promises to do it as soon as the affairs of Poland were settled. The warlike preparations on the side of the Dniester continue to diminish, and our fears of a rupture between Russia and the Porte are less strong than they were.

Prussia, supported by Hanover, is doing everything that is possible to distress us in the empire. Its views, evidently, are to set on foot an army at the

Hosted by Google

expense of the Circles of Westphalia and Lower Saxony, in order to be ready to avail itself of events. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who for some time had hopes of obtaining Frankfort and the bishopric of Fulda, declines entering into this association. The conduct of Hanover gives great discontent here; and it appears impossible for me to convince any one that his Majesty's English ministers have no influence over the counsels of his Hanoverian Government.

The Duke of Polignac is returned from Petersburg; the Empress has given him a great extent of land, but without either inhabitants or buildings, not far from the Dniester and in Podolia, and thither he purposes to retire in about a fortnight, with the Duchess of Guiche, and the rest of his family. He will at first reside at a house of Count Felix Potocki, that is in the neighbourhood of his own estate. He has long resided here, but without an avowed character, on the part of the French King, and, to his great regret, has, as he tells me, been *congédié*.

M. de St. Priest is now here. He was on his road to join the French King, but, knowing that his principles were suspected by that unhappy monarch and those that surround him, on account of his late emigration, he first intimated his intentions, and transmitted the recommendation of the two imperial courts—it should have insured him a favourable reception. The answer was that he might come, and that the King would charge him with the Département de l'Intérieur. This satisfied him so little that he remains here under pretext of ill health. You will have seen the French King's general order on arriving at the Prince of Condé's head-quarters, and M. d'Avarray's letter to Charette of last August. What an infatuated set of men!

I avail myself of this opportunity, and send you a copy of the German translation of your much admired pamphlet. The difficulties that existed with a narrow-minded censeur, are not yet removed, so as to allow the free sale.

Hosted by Google

You will have heard of the ready consent of the Emperor to the marriage of Madame Royale with the Duc d'Angoulême. This puts an end to all the idle tales from Verona of *arrières vues*, &c., of this Government, in the kind and honourable reception given to that young Princess.

Wednesday, Noon.

I was got thus far on Monday, when the receipt of the news of fresh disasters in Italy rendered it necessary for Baron Thugut to defer the departure of his messenger till this day. The despatches were from the Archduke Ferdinand from Verona, and brought the first intelligence of his departure from Milan, after throwing two battalions into the citadel of that place, and gave room to apprehend that the enemy had got between General Beaulieu and Mantua. But yesterday letters from the General himself were received, which remove our apprehension for the fate of that place. His plan must now be to provide fully for it, and then assemble his army *en bloc*, and wait for his reinforcements. The loss of revenue, of stores, and of a loan of fourteen millions of florins, which was promised by the Milanese Government, is severely felt, and opposition here is very active to engage the Emperor to any peace; but I am assured that his Imperial Majesty will persevere in the honourable cause, if he succeed in procuring the loan in England, as long as there is any prospect of success; and, at present, notwithstanding these misfortunes, we think it better than it was. His ministry is anxious for an advance on the loan, and for the transfer of the Piedmontese subsidy, for the purpose of augmenting their army by Hesse-Darmstadt and Palatine troops. It is an arduous moment.

Ever yours, &c.,
MORTON EDEN.

Hosted by Google

*Mr. Craufurd to Lord Auckland.**

Frankfort, May 30th, 1796.

My Lord,—In the course of a few days hence your Lordship will probably be informed, that notice has been given to the enemy by the Archduke Charles and Marshal Wurmser, that the armistice is to cease to-morrow at six in the evening. Marshal Clairfayt's intention was to have opened the campaign early in April. The delay is much to be regretted; but the rupture, even late as it has happened, has occasioned some surprise. God grant that the operations may be such as in some degree to repair the disasters that have happened in Italy. Though my expectations some weeks ago were high, they were well founded, and the disappointment I now feel is proportionally great. The *perseverance* of the Court of Vienna, in having a man† in the command of the army, who is considered so entirely unfit for it, if not unaccountable, is at least extraordinary, and, in my opinion, is extremely dangerous; and has produced in the armies here much murmuring and disgust. His incapacity for such a charge was so notorious, that there was but one opinion upon it. When he was named to go to Italy, it was thought here to have been done with the view of removing him from the Rhine; but it was then considered to be a very dangerous measure, from the possibility that the command might eventually fall to him. Beaulieu and his exploits were subjects of merriment in the army, and especially with the officers of the *état-major*, to whom he observed one day, with some humour, that though Marshal Clairfayt certainly had read, and read a great deal, there was one thing which, though neither long nor intricate, he seemed never to have read—the letter

* This is the last letter from Mr. Craufurd in the Auckland MSS.; he returned to France at the Peace of Amiens, and on its rupture was allowed to remain in Paris, where he died in 1819.

† General Beaulieu.

Hosted by Google

that appointed him his quartermaster-general. All allow that he is a gallant, honourable, and zealous officer, and I never met with any one who bore him any personal ill-will. Had the campaign in Italy been conducted by a general of prudence and ability, there is every reason to suppose that it would not only have been successful, but decisive. After reading many letters from thence, I, in substance, understand that General Beaulieu had conceived an intention of attacking the enemy, and of endeavouring to penetrate to Savona; but in consequence of representations that were made to him of the insufficiency of his force for such an enterprise, he quitted Pavia, apparently convinced of the wisdom of deferring all offensive operations until reinforcements arrived, except making himself master of the Bochetta, which was thought necessary for the security of Genoa; besides the reinforcements that he expected on shore, a fleet of boats was preparing to act upon the coast, to prevent the enemy from receiving supplies by sea, which, it appears, we have never been able to do during the whole course of the war. Elated, perhaps, by the facility with which he got possession of the Bochetta, and afterwards of Voltri, he seems to have resumed his intention of penetrating to Savona. He sent an order to General d'Argenteau to attack the enemy's post at Monte Notte; and to enable him to execute what he proposed, and to maintain himself if he succeeded, he put under his orders Colonel Vickasovitch, who commanded a corps of four battalions of infantry, and gave him the power likewise of calling to his assistance as many battalions from Aqui. General d'Argenteau accordingly attacked the enemy, and succeeded; but observing that the enemy, after being driven from Monte Notte, were assembling in superior force, he wrote to Colonel Vickasovitch to advance. Unfortunately, instead of directing him to march as soon as possible after the receipt of his letter, which would have been the natural way, he directed him to march the next morning; and instead

Hosted by Google

of dating it the 13th April, the day on which it was written, he dated it the 14th. As he had foreseen, he was attacked by the enemy in great numbers; by the mistakes he committed, he was deprived of the assistance of Vickasovitch; being driven from Monte Notte, he fell back to Dego, which he likewise abandoned. It appears that he neglected to secure passes to his left, by which the enemy found means to turn his positions.

After the retreat of D'Argenteau, the enemy detached a corps of between 4000 and 5000 men against General Provera, who was posted with about 1800 men at Cosseria. He repulsed them several times; but the enemy being reinforced, he was obliged to surrender. In the mean time, Vickasovitch was advancing, and not receiving any intelligence from Argenteau, he found himself in the midst of enemy's posts. In those difficult circumstances, he resolved at once to attack their principal body at Dego, which was attended with complete success; he not only retook the cannon that were lost by D'Argenteau, but got possession of several pieces of the enemy's. The greatest part of the troops that were employed against Provera, together with some additional reinforcements, having joined the corps that had been beat by Vickasovitch, he was forced, after a smart action, to abandon Dego; but he executed his retreat with great ability. Some battalions that were advancing from Aqui being met by D'Argenteau, he informed them of what had happened to him, and, entirely forgetting Vickasovitch, stopped their march. Had Beaulieu adhered to the plan that he seems to have adopted when he left Pavia, the French, in all human probability, would have been confined to the mountains; and if their communication by sea with Nice and the ports of Provence could have been cut off, perhaps a very great part of them would have been obliged to surrender. Had M. d'Argenteau acted with common military circumspection, had he ordered Vickasovitch to march immediately on the receipt of his letter,

Hosted by Google

or had not he misdated it, the important post of Monte Notte would have been added to the chain of defence; had not he ordered the troops that were advancing from Aqui to halt, Dego would have been preserved, and things placed nearly on the footing they were before the operations began.

After the retreat of Vickasovitch it appears that the enemy directed all their efforts against the army of Piedmontese and Austrians, commanded by General Colli. Overcome by superior numbers in two well-fought battles, he retired across the Stura, at Cerasco. The Court of Turin was alarmed; the party that wished for peace, or, perhaps, I may say, *the French party*, took advantage of the moment to persuade the King to send to General Bonaparte, and the French minister at Genoa, to demand an armistice, and propose negotiations for peace. It is said that the King was at first averse to the measure; that the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Hautville, opposed it; but news arriving that the enemy had crossed the Stura, that General Colli had been again defeated, the King consented. It is alleged, likewise, that there were symptoms of a popular insurrection; by others this is denied. Perhaps some of the populace might have shown a disposition to commit disorders; perhaps, as we have seen elsewhere, they might have been gained to do so; but it is insisted that the *bourgeoisie*, on the contrary, gave the strongest demonstrations of their attachment to their sovereign. But on every supposition that can be made, at least in as far as is known here, I think the conduct of the Court of Turin cannot be justified.

A military man that I have a very high opinion of, and who knows that country, says, that as soon as General Colli crossed the Stura, the King ought to have ordered him to march into Turin with some of his best troops, and to send the rest of his army to join that under General Beaulieu; that the capital and the court would thereby have been in security; that the populace would have been awed; and that it

Hosted by Google

was impossible that the enemy should have dared to advance to Turin with the strong fortresses of Coni, Alexandria, and Tortona behind them, and an army that would soon have been in a condition to march forward and attack them. That they neither had the force nor apparatus necessary for investing such a place as Turin; that the army of the Alps could not possibly have advanced to assist them; and that in all likelihood it would have been extremely difficult for them to have received any reinforcement by the sea coast. But instead of this plan, which I believe was the only really safe and honourable one that was left to be taken, the King of Sardinia*, by the manner in which he abandoned his allies, delivered the armies and possessions of the House of Austria into the power of its enemies, and opened the gates for Italy to be overrun by infidels and barbarians; and whatever may have been promised by the French (if any promises have been made), he is for the present completely under their yoke, and, by the terms that have been publicly imposed upon him, reduced to such a state of dependence, insignificance, and humiliation, as to make almost any alternative preferable to it.

Your Lordship will have seen the proclamation made by the republican general, La Harpe, even after the armistice was concluded; and it is said that wherever the French go, they propagate their doctrines with unremitting assiduity; they lay down as a maxim that "plus que les *préjugés* existent, plus qu'ils sont forts, plus il faut employer du zèle pour les détruire." But will these examples serve to induce certain cabinets to change their conduct? I do not believe they will; though to me it appears evident that every throne in Europe is now tottering over the abyss of mad democracy. The infection, that I thought was subsiding, will again be revived; and I think I already perceive a change in the state of public opinion. Forgetting all the crimes that accompanied

* Victor Amadeus. He died of apoplexy in October, and was succeeded by Charles Emanuel.

Hosted by Google

and have marked every stage of the French revolution, forgetting the excesses that have been committed in the countries the French have invaded, men begin to be dazzled with their successes, and, without reducing these to their just value by examining the causes that produced them, I now hear them admire the *vigour* of the enemy's government—the boldness of their plans—the secresy with which they are concealed—the energy with which they are executed—and, from a mixture of admiration and fear, by far the greater number are more disposed to seek to conciliate their good-will than boldly to oppose them.

By our last accounts from Italy, it appears that Beaulieu had his head-quarters at Roveredo, and that a strong garrison, with provisions and ammunition, had been thrown into Mantua.

The Archduke has his head-quarters at Messenheim; Marshal Wurmser has his at Kayserlautern. The armistice expires to-morrow; but the weather is rainy, and blows almost a hurricane.

I have the honour to be, with great truth and attachment, my Lord, your Lordship's very obedient, humble servant,

QU. CRAUFURD.

Mr. Wickham to Lord Auckland.

Berne, June 12th, 1796.

My Lord,—I am the more concerned at seeing your Lordship *seriously* affected by the victories in Italy, because I fear many attentive observers in England will draw a very unfavourable presage from the manner in which your Lordship seems to consider them, and also because they really have never given me any *serious* ground for uneasiness, excepting from the apprehensions I always entertained that their *apparent* magnitude and consequences, when viewed from a distance, would make a deep impression *at home* as well as at Vienna.

Hosted by Google

I feel confident when I say that the force of the enemy, considerable as it is, was *not* sufficient to enable them, at the same time, to besiege the citadel of Milan and Mantua; to force M. de Beaulieu in the Tyrol; to pass through the Grisons; to garrison Coni, Mondovi, and Tortona; to keep the inhabitants of Italy in awe; to guard all the different passages of the Alps from the Little St. Bernard to the coast of the Mediterranean; to secure their different depôts, as well in France as in Italy; to keep open the extensive and numerous communications, all carried on through (to say the least) an ill-disposed country; to keep a watchful eye upon the King of Sardinia, and to restrain the inhabitants of the southern provinces, from Lyons to Toulouse and Marseilles, not to mention the numbers that will be wanted to supply the loss of those who will perish by sickness and the stiletto.

Believe me, my Lord, the House of Austria had full time to have prepared measures for attacking the enemy in Italy before he would have been in a situation to have penetrated further than the Tyrol, without having recourse to the fatal and ill-judged measure of withdrawing its forces from the Rhine, and reducing the finest army that ever was collected on one point to a miserable system of inaction.

That measure, I allow (with which your Lordship must be by this time acquainted), is a real subject of uneasiness and alarm. But even *that* is only so inasmuch as it puts an end to all reasonable hope of terminating the war this campaign, and as it gives room to fear that the Austrians may be induced to make a separate peace. As to the first, if I am not much alarmed, it is, I allow, because I have never been very sanguine in my hopes upon that particular point. As to the second, history tells us that if the Court of Vienna has been always tardy in its military, it has been still more in its pacific operations, and that if it has been generally the last of the allies *in* the field, it has been also the last *out* of it.

Hosted by Google

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Vienna, Monday, June 13th, 1796.

My dear Brother,—I received a few days ago your letters of the 20th and 24th past, by the messengers Schaw and Silvester. After having thanked you for them, and for your most excellent speech, which is a cordial to me, though a new subject of envy to many of the little souls of this place, before I enter upon any other subject I must offer you and Lady Auckland, Lady Elizabeth's and my most cordial congratulations on the happy recovery of your pretty little Louisa. Till the receipt of your letters I did not know of her illness. A naturally good constitution and the wholesome air of your farm will, I trust, have confirmed her cure.

I and mine are well, but I am much dejected by our late calamities in Italy. Great reinforcements are sending thither. Poor old Beaulieu is removed, and General Melas appointed until the arrival of Marshal Wurmser, who has accepted the command, and who carries with him General Lauer and the rest of his staff, which is most excellently composed. As these reinforcements, however, must in a great measure (26,000 of the best troops) be taken from the armies on the Rhine, the diversion, which we expected on that side, must become less powerful. In the official Gazette of this place it has been most foolishly and unaccountably inserted that the armies are to act defensively till the arrival of the reinforcements. I have spoken on the subject, and have been assured, and it appears probable, that the sieges of Landau and Sarre-Laus cannot, as it was intended, be undertaken, and that the operations must be confined to attacking the enemy in the field. The Archduke Charles and General Bellegarde are very angry, but the danger on the side of Italy, owing to Beaulieu's unhappily being persuaded to go to the side of Genoa, and afterwards to the fatal blunder of General

Hosted by Google

d'Argenteau, is so great that it became indispensably necessary to send succours thither. The army there will be formed by the 22nd of July, and will consist of 60,000 men, all chosen troops. About 11,000 men are now on their march from Gallicia to join the army on the Rhine, in the place of those taken from thence. Our last letters from Italy say that the enemy cease to come forward and to scatter themselves over the country. It is reported that they intend to form the siege of Mantua. This we desire, as the place is in a good condition and well provided. We have had alarms most diligently spread here for the whole frontier on the side of Italy, and the Emperor has been constantly harassed by the clamours and cabals of the *Frondeurs*, which, in truth, are nearly the whole of the nobility usually resident in Vienna; but his Imperial Majesty, with great dignity and firmness, adheres to the principles on which we have so long acted together, and I have been formally authorised to transmit new assurances to that effect. So long as Baron Thugut remains in office I have not any apprehensions of a change of system, and he is secure unless we have some further great calamities. If, however, he be driven from his post, it is to be expected that the system will be changed; and so little energy and public spirit exist, that any conditions would rather be submitted to than the difficulties that would attend a continuation of the struggle. At this moment M. de Thugut is in better spirits than I have seen him in for some time past.

In one of my late letters I mentioned that a note was to be presented to the French ambassador at Basle, of a similar tenor with that of Mr. Wickham. The answer has been received, and surpasses in insolence any paper that has yet appeared. I wanted M. de Thugut to publish it immediately, to show, particularly here, that nothing less disgraceful than the Sardinian peace is to be expected from negotiation; but he thinks that the torpor is too great to be roused, and that it would rather furnish new matter

Hosted by Google

for clamour to the enemies of the English system, who say that Great Britain will alone gain by the continuance of the war. His wish is that it should be kept secret. I mention it to you, therefore, in confidence, till we have some success, and then that it should be made public with such a joint declaration as the two Courts may agree upon. Count Stahremberg, whose father, as well as my friends the Colloredos, is an arch-Frondeur, because he is not consulted, knows nothing of these papers. I, however we may differ in politics, live on good terms both with Prince Stahremberg and Prince Colloredo, and play five times a week at whist with them.

The instructions carried by Baron Muller and by the messenger that followed him on the 18th, are such as will, I trust, have anticipated Lord Grenville's wishes relative to the convention for the loan and to the negotiation; if anything happen to prevent its taking place, we shall be blown up here, as the loss of the Milanese has increased the financial embarrassment.

Count Stahremberg writes that Lord Macartney * is loud in the praises of the Comte de Lille's † prudence, &c. As a mark of it, I have irrefragable proofs of his keeping up a connection with the Courts of Madrid and Berlin, for the purpose of securing their influence to preserve the old limits of France, and of the Chevalier d'Azara, the Spanish minister at Rome, being his chief counsellor, though M. d'Azara's sentiments towards Great Britain and this Court, and his opinions of the principles of the French revolution, should and must be known to him. The Count perseveres in his refusal to withdraw from the Condé army to Stockach or Rothenburg, which were allotted to him. In consequence of my representations, by order, he will be overlooked there if he be not quiet. Whatever turn affairs may take in France, and however favourable to monarchy, Louis XVIII. will never ascend the throne.

* Lord Macartney was on a diplomatic mission in Italy.
† Afterwards Louis XVIII.

Hosted by Google

General Alvinzi is gone as commissary along the Italian frontier to take measures for its defence.

From Petersburg we continue to have exhortations, but nothing further. From Berlin nothing except accounts of the King's coquetting with the French Republic, and the intrigues carrying on for the agreed demarcation, in which Hanover plays a principal part.

Adieu, my dear brother. I am very tired. God send us better times! I sigh after woods and lawns, but never get out of sight of St. Stephen's towers. May you and yours enjoy every happiness in your woods! Believe me to be ever your obliged affectionate brother,

MORTON EDEN.

The unsatisfactory state of affairs elicited a "cry of anguish" from Sheffield Place.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Sheffield Place, June 26th, 1796.

We were not satisfied with the state of health of a most amiable part* of your family when we left town, and we are not satisfied with your silence since our arrival here. We wish to hear that each and every of your daughters are quite well, and that you are comfortably settled in the country,—if you can be comfortable when affairs seem rapidly going to the devil.

I am anxious to know whether Austria will make a separate peace. However revolting and difficult a loan to the Emperor might be, I considered our failure, in that respect, as the greatest misfortune: I think it must leave France without any enemy but ourselves. The question must then be changed from whether we will have peace to whether we can have peace on almost any terms. The war would probably be transferred to this country and Ireland.

* Eleanor Eden.

Hosted by Google

Nothing can be more execrable than the system of denouncing as Jacobins all those who ever disapprove any measure of the ministers, or who mark the imminence of danger, and by that means wish to avert it. There is not a greater enemy to the country than he who endeavours to palliate and conceal it; neither is *he* less so who slights the idea of invasion, and who does not look towards such an event, if the armies of France should be debarrassed from all other enemies. Whenever the French will spare 80,000 men (they will not know what else to do with them) to attack this island and Ireland in three or four divisions, we must not flatter ourselves it will be impossible for them to get over. I should think it extraordinary if three out of four divisions did not succeed, at least so far as to land. The same wind that might confine our fleet in the Channel, would bring the enemy from Brest, &c., to Ireland and the west of England, or from the coast of Holland to the north and east of this island. I dread an attempt on Ireland, and also on Newcastle. So far from thinking we should behave well if vigorously attacked, I expect nothing but confusion and disaster. The stake is too great to depend on 30,000 militia, officered as they are. People assembled in a hurry would only expose us to greater calamity. There is no leader of character and experience to look up to. The want of confidence would be extreme. A senseless cry for peace, when it could not be had, would stand in the place of exertion — a heavy contribution would not purchase peace.

The country, indeed, would be then well pleased to part with Pitt, as a substitute for an Apollo Belvedere. The graceful wriggles of Lord Liverpool* might entitle him to be a substitute for Laocoon, Ryder for the Hermaphrodite, Dundas for Mars. The French would not take the Duke of Portland

* Lord Hawkesbury was created Earl of Liverpool on the 1st of June, 1796.

Hosted by Google

for Jupiter Tonans. The Chancellor and Windham, having some expression of countenance, might be taken as pieces by Raphael; but I know not why I laugh, for I was never less disposed to it—I never was thoroughly alarmed before. Surely we are utterly unfit to conduct the affairs of Europe, or the war, and surely those are now fortunate who are not mixed in public affairs. Perhaps I write thus to provoke you to say something, if you know anything more than newspapers. It may be proper for your family, after so much indisposition, to wash in the sea. From hence Lady Auckland and you might speculate where you could best arrange yourselves on the coast. I flatter myself you have no other chance of the pleasure of seeing me till February next.

The appearance of the growing corn is excellent, but little of the last crop is left in these parts. I have thoughts of writing observations on what was done in and out of Parliament during the last twelve months on the subject of corn: I have good materials. Nothing ever appeared to me more extraordinary than, after having taken the corn trade out of the hands of the merchants, the ministers should cease to procure corn, just at the moment they should have made the greatest exertions, and afterwards that they should promote a report from the corn committee, directly in the teeth of evidence and common sense, in favour of relinquishing the trade. The responsibility of ministers was done away, but if it was right to relinquish at the time they did, they must be wrong in having interfered in the first instance.

I never was more ashamed of my silence than on that point. I have some reason to believe Lord Liverpool is not answerable for this strange management. Pitt sometimes forms a sure little junto, and reposes on Ryder and young Jenky.* I have not been accustomed to admire old Jenky on the subject of corn, but after the experience of so many months

* Afterwards Prime Minister.

Hosted by Google

so miserably wasted at the corn committee last session, I think him a jewel of a man compared to the deputy* who presided at that committee.

Having been thus diffuse (instead of going to church), I expect to hear from you forthwith.

Yours ever,

SHEFFIELD.

M. Perregaux † to Lord Courtown.‡

Paris, June 28th, 1796.

My Lord, — I wrote you the 18th of this month, to confirm the expedition of the "Moniteurs" to the 8th of May, by Mr. Sartori, nephew to Mr. Greffuhle, to say that I had paid ten louis to Madame Dumont.

Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

PERREGAUX.

P.S. As I was closing this letter, your Lordship's of the 20th June reached me. I am sorry that the so much desired period of peace is still so distant.

I had formed my opinion at the first reading of Payne's pamphlet, but I was desirous to have yours.

M. Perregaux to Lord Courtown.

July 16th, 1796.

My Lord, — When I had the pleasure to write you on the 28th June last, I did not enter into any details on your observations about peace, the campaign in Germany being then amongst the chapters of events; but now that the successes of it render peace with the Emperor almost certain, is it possible that your country alone would stand its ground? I foresee what your Lordship would say in favour of the affirmative; but, decided as both parties seem to be to fight it out, what misery and mischief will not be the consequence

* Mr. Ryder. † The great Paris banker. ‡ Lord Auckland.

Hosted by Google

of it to individuals, besides a reciprocal destruction! For the sake of humanity, for that of tranquillity, which is so much wanted after a struggle of so many years, would it not be the interest of all parties to give way, to come to a solid arrangement, and put an end to the infallible disasters of a continuation of war?

You seem to think that the successes of this side may make them unreasonable; I firmly believe the contrary: all they wished was to be on a level with you to treat, so as not to receive the law.

In general, the nations at war with this country have a wrong idea of it. Seven years' revolution has not exhausted its resources; the soil never was so well cultivated as it is now, the peasantry so rich; money circulates fast since the reduction of paper, and the energy of the people increases with their success. The efforts of all classes to enforce the constitution improve the steadiness of the government.

If your cabinet is earnestly intentioned for peace, and will go frankly about it, I am sure they would be met on this side—as much, I believe, has already been intimated to them; but no time should be lost; for once the peace concluded with the Emperor, the task would be very difficult. My wish for it cannot be suspected. I have no other motive for it but my solicitude for the welfare of two countries who by their respective energy deserve to be happy.

I am, respectfully, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

PERREGAUX.

Mr. George Rose to Lord Auckland.

Old Palace Yard, July 29th, 1796.

My dear Lord, — I am persuaded matters are advancing fast to the crisis we have for some time apprehended. Craufurd, in a letter I have just received from him, says among other things of a mixed public and private nature: "It is high time for us to make peace as soon as we can, for I am convinced the

Hosted by Google

Court of Vienna will not hold out much longer, and we may be left to contend with France without any ally whatever. If we were in that predicament, I believe we should do better than those people are doing; but if we could avoid it on decent terms, consistently with our honour, we had much better do so. The Austrians have but one man* who is equal to the command of their armies, and even if they bring him forward, he may be killed, or taken ill, and then we shall be as ill off as ever."

Any comment on this to you is unnecessary, and I can make the communication to no one else. The letter is dated from Eisengen, the 11th of this month.

Having heard nothing from you on the subject, I take it for granted we shall not see any of you at Holly Grove on Sunday. I go there to-morrow evening; but if you could dine there you would find my son; the Miss Byngs are with them, and stay till Monday.

I trust I shall have a good account of Miss Eden, about whom I am unaffectedly anxious. I wish you would beg Miss Katherine to send news of her to Mrs. Rose.

I am, my dear Lord, ever yours most truly,

GEORGE ROSE.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Pitt.

Eden Farm, July 30th, 1795.

My dear Sir, — I do not think myself at liberty to retain the enclosed papers, though I doubt whether they are likely to be of any use. I received them an hour ago by my Saturday's caravan from Palace Yard. I send the whole, as it may otherwise be difficult to comprehend the mistake† which has so long detained them; but No. 5 ‡ is the material paper, and may merit a moment's very serious reflection.

* General Mack.—(Original note.)

† Perregaux's letters were sent to Lord Courtown, who could not understand what they meant.

‡ Perregaux's letter of the 16th July.

Hosted by Google

My private opinion has ever been, that it is right in war to treat at all times; and that there are few channels through which a prudent government may not sound the ground of pacification without risk of mischief and always with possible advantage. At present I am strongly of that persuasion. I conceive that every extremity ought to be suffered rather than submit to a *bad* and dishonourable peace (which, in the present circumstances and opinions of the age, would be eventually fatal to these kingdoms). Yet it may happen that the governing party in France may have an interest in making peace on terms far better for us than our present prospects lead people to expect.

For these reasons I would ask M. Perregaux and others what it is that they mean. Sainte-Foy is a notorious stockjobber, but he contributed materially to the last peace.* I do not know that Perregaux is a stockjobber, though he may be an instrument in the hands of others. I know, however, that he is fairly and solidly interested to see peace restored, and he certainly is connected with many of the leading people.

From these motives (and from others perhaps more urgent, but not necessary to be specified) I should incline to send for Majeur, and to make him the bearer of a safe letter to Perregaux. In such conjunctures I do not think that there is any risk worth regard if ordinary prudence is observed.

The Madame Dumont mentioned by Perregaux is an old governess left by us at Sève in 1788, and now in great distress. My eldest daughter wrote a letter to her, and authorised her to apply to Perregaux for ten guineas. I apprised him of it by the post, and added two or three stout but loose phrases on the subject of the war. This was before I knew the misfortunes either in Italy or in Suabia.

If you are not found at Hollwood I will send a

* In 1783.

Hosted by Google

scrawl with this packet to-morrow to Downing Street. Have the goodness to return the whole to me, as I must at any rate give some answer.

Are we likely to meet either here or at Hollwood? I am forthcoming any day except Monday next.

Believe me, my dear Sir, ever respectfully and sincerely yours,

AUCKLAND.

Hosted by Google

CHAP. XXXVI.

State of Affairs in Ireland. — Mr. Pitt's early Hours. — Ill-treatment of the Landed Interest.—Lord Malmesbury's Negotiation.— Lord Auckland and Mr. Pitt.— Anger of M. Thugut on account of the Negotiations for Peace. — The Loyalty Loan.— Mr. Pitt's intended Marriage. — The Situation of the Pope. — Offer of the Low Countries to Prussia. — Mr. Pitt and Eleanor Eden. — Failure of Lord Malmesbury's Mission.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

Abbeville, August 20th, 1796.

My dear Auckland,—I have scarce time to write two lines now, merely to say that we are in a most desperate situation: the whole north, Louth, Meath, Westmeath, Longford, Roscommon, Galway, County and City Dublin, ready to rise in rebellion; an invasion invited by ambassadors; our militia corrupted; the dragoons of Ireland suspected; the United Irishmen all organised; the people armed;—while we are without military stores, magazines, &c., and where things will end God only knows; but our heads are in no small danger, I promise you.

I wrote a long letter to Rose on these subjects.

All my family are well; let me hear the same of yours. Ever yours most affectionately,

J. B.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Hollwood, Wednesday.

My dear Lord,—I foresee nothing at present to prevent my being here both Friday and Saturday. I

Hosted by Google

will return the papers when you call. The shooting season will, perhaps, bring breakfast to the early hour of ten.

Ever yours,
W. P.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Sunday, 10 A.M.

My dear Lord,—I am *already* at breakfast, and shall be happy to see you as soon as you please, as I have some early appointments.

Yours ever,
W. P.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Hollwood, Thursday, 4 P.M.

My dear Lord,—A headache and sickness, which I have felt something of ever since the morning, has increased so much within these two hours, as to render me quite unfit for the pleasant party I left, and to oblige me very reluctantly to submit to a sleepy and stupid evening by myself. I hope a night's rest will enable me to reach you by breakfast to-morrow, and to show Lady Jane* the way hither.

Ever sincerely yours,
W. PITT.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Sheffield Place, Sept. 23rd, 1796.

My dear Lord,—I rejoice that all are well at Eden Farm, a grand blessing in such a family.

You say you have great hopes in the meeting of Parliament. As there can be no doubt that the present Parliament will do whatever the minister *will* propose, and that the public will consider everything to be done in that light, I am at a loss to guess what your hopes are.

* Lady Jane Dundas.

Hosted by Google

I hope the Lords and Commons will afford us country folks some amusement in our retreats through the medium of the newspapers. I find myself so completely *hors de combat*, that my anxiety about measures is wonderfully diminished, and I am not likely to be drawn from hence, except to utter some vigorous ideas against the increase of land taxation, and the miserable unstatesmanlike mode of taxation which has prevailed. The constant and timid expedients which avoid taxes on general consumption for taxes on luxury, are calculated to please elderly ladies, or men who merit that description. We, *i.e.* the landed interest, are *en train* to be levelled as completely as we could be by *liberty and equality*. There will be, however, great inequality in respect to moneyed men, contractors and families who accumulate office on office; and landed men must sell their property to secure any income; and if peculiar connections do not prevent, common sense will induce them to migrate to a country where they might live splendidly on what here would be a bare subsistence. Conceive what an opening for advantageous migration, when France is settled, free, untaxed, and sure to flourish, and protect its people and property. What chance has the landed interest here, when the system is to manage the considerable landed men by sending them to the House of Lords, after a very short service, not because they had public or other more useful talents than that of simple voting, but because they have landed property?—What chance have we, I say, when the House of Commons is filled with moneyed men, speculators, and underlings in office? Must not the landed interest — must not men like me, who have uniformily opposed a reform in Parliament, acknowledge the necessity of it, and join in a cry which will be heard? I thought myself the most unlikely of all men to agree in such opinions; but I probably shall soon be obliged to acknowledge that the evils I feared are nothing when compared to those which are coming on.

Hosted by Google

The annihilation of Jourdan's army is a great event. Would that it had happened before we had been debased by the humiliating manner of soliciting peace, like the little German states! They, indeed, could not do otherwise, when the enemy was in their unprotected country; but we took the worst moment, and when our enemy was still distant, and when every power connected with us, abandoned to destruction, could not be in a worse state. Whether the Austrians are to be considered as abandoned by us remains to be proved: they have maintained themselves better than I expected. I fear it is but too true that we shall soon want both the means and self-opinion, which constitute essentially the independence and safety of a great nation.

Thus I have given vent. I doubt it will not cool me much.

Yours ever,

SHEFFIELD.

P.S. To be sure it would be decorous for the person for whom you borrowed the whole year (1790) of the "Mercure," except two first volumes, to return them to Privy Gardens.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Tuesday, 4.30 P.M.

My dear Lord,—After an edifying morning, passed chiefly with kind-hearted Jews, and just setting out to the *Soft and Silky**, at the London Tavern, I am sorry to find that I must return to my morning's task too early to-morrow even for a Beckenham hour of breakfast. I must, therefore, give up both the den and the library till Friday. I am not without great hopes of having ascertained a very large proportion of our calculations, as far as they relate to London, in the next two days. At present, things are not brought to any decisive point, but continue to promise well. The accounts from Paris of the impression made on

* Probably the East India Directors.

Hosted by Google

the public mind there, and of the state of their resources for men or money, are most satisfactory.

Yours sincerely,
W. P.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Beresford.

Eden Farm, Oct. 11th, 1796.

My dear Beresford,—We still have strong reason to hope that Moreau's army will be cut up. The Italian business is less probable. The Directory are certainly under great embarrassments. I shall not be surprised if they end in some explosion. As to the treaty, it is impossible either to reason or to speculate; it may do everything or it may do nothing. The scene being all new to Lord Malmesbury*, he may meet the fraternal embraces with indifference. After all that I have said, and written, and published, about the rascals, and after living, as I did, so much with the royal family and murdered ministers of France, it was impossible for me ever to shake the bloody hands of the assassins and regicides.

We are all here. We went to town last week for the ladies to hear the King's speech, and to go to a ball at the Duchess of Gordon's. The session will have little or no business till something more can be known respecting the state both of the war and of the negotiation. Mr. Pitt, in one of his late visits to me, took the occasion to hold with me the only conversation on personal views that has passed between us since I returned from the continent. In stating to me his difficulties and pre-engagement in disposing of the present vacancy† in office, he mentioned a plan which he had in his view, and which if he can soon realise (there is some uncertainty as to the time), would be

* Lord Malmesbury arrived in Paris, October 22nd. The first person he saw was Perregaux. See Malmesbury Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 259.

† On the death of Lord Mansfield, President of the Council, Lord Auckland received fifty letters of congratulation on his supposed appointment to succeed him. By the King's desire, Lord Chatham was appointed, and this caused a vacancy in the office of Privy Seal.

Hosted by Google

better for me than anything else. He was very kind, and friendly, and honourable, as I have always found him.

Yours affectionately,
AUCKLAND.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Friday, 2.45 P.M.

My dear Lord, — I have been detained till this moment, and am forced to return the papers without having read the notes. The text I like extremely, and the little I should wish to suggest I can mention in time for a proof sheet.

The mail has brought nothing very material, but rather damps the hope of Moreau's suffering* to the extent we expected, or of things being so promising in Italy.

Yours ever,
W. PITT.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

November 16th.

In one of my late letters I informed you how little palatable the measure of sending a plenipotentiary to Paris had been found here; some old prejudices also exist against the person†, which his precipitation at Berlin did not remove. Schaw, whom I charged with this letter, brought me a copy of his instructions, which are allowed to be unexceptionable; and as a secret hope prevailed of the Directory refusing to admit the principle of combined negotiation, little was said against the measure till Dresins's arrival on the 6th from Paris, with a copy of the answer‡ to

* In his retreat through the Black Forest.

† Lord Malmesbury.

‡ This answer will be found in the Malmesbury Correspondence, pp. 274, 275; in it the Directory declare: "Aussitôt que le Lord Malmesbury fera apparoître au Ministre des Relations Extérieures les pouvoirs suffisans des puissances alliés de la Grande Bretagne à l'effet de stipuler pour leurs intérêts respectifs, et leur promesse de souscrire à ce qui aura été conclu dans leur nom, le Directoire Exécutif s'empressera de répondre aux propositions précises que lui seront faites."

Hosted by Google

Lord Malmesbury's memorial. It was received by my friend* with greater agitation than I ever saw him under during the nearly four eventful years of our intimate connection. He dwelt long on the Emperor's great efforts, consistency, and firmness, when the enemy was on the frontiers of this country; on the slight shown him by the adoption and carrying into execution a measure of such a great and common interest, without a previous consent being even proposed to him; stated his full conviction that it would not be productive of peace, nor, from the turn which the Directory has given to it, of those advantages which we expected from it in case of the failure of peace; and above all insisted on the embarrassments into which it threw the Emperor in regard to Russia, as he could not take so decisive a step without a previous concert with that power, particularly as the Empress might allege such a slight as a reason for relinquishing her offer to send us effective assistance. He further said that it would mar the Emperor's prospect, which was at present so fair, of obtaining, by his glorious efforts and perseverance, an indemnification for his losses and expenses. His language was in many respects conformable to Lord Fitzwilliam's protest.† He has long confidentially told me that his intention is to resign his place at the peace. He now said that were he attached to his place he would give it up on a peace being made with the present French Government, as it must be, in his opinion, followed by the immediate overthrow of all the present established governments in Europe. After several discussions, that were often animated and painful, at his desire I gave him in a note, and have for some days been in expectation of a written answer. The aim of my note was to prevail on the Emperor to send a plenipotentiary to Paris, or full powers to Lord Malmesbury to treat for him; finding that the answer is not ready, owing partly, as he says, to the Emperor's

* M. Thugut.

† Against negotiation.

Hosted by Google

absence at the Diet of Hungary, and partly to our own fault for not having previously informed him of the measure, that he might have well considered it, I determined to send back my messenger, in order to do away the impatience of our ministers with a provisional verbal answer: the written one he promises me in a few days.

It is in substance that the Emperor cannot, convinced as he is that the Directory will not at present agree to just and honourable conditions, risk the loss of the Empress of Russia's friendship, in search of an uncertain benefit, nor submit to the humiliation of sending, on such uncertainty (which would moreover be a formal recognition of the French Republic), either a plenipotentiary to Paris, or give full powers to Lord Malmesbury to treat there with a government that had so repeatedly and glaringly insulted him, nor take any direct share in the negotiation without previously concerting it with Russia. That he was induced to believe, from the word of allies having been used in Lord Malmesbury's memorial, that a similar communication, as here, had been made at Petersburg, but if an answer be waited for from there the delay here would be of no prejudice. That in the mean time, if his Majesty's Government be pressed by the Directory for an immediate answer, they might, in his opinion, demand that, as the basis which they had proposed had been neglected, the Directory should bring forward their proposals. That if the Directory should offer to cede all its conquests from the Emperor, his Imperial Majesty must then consent to treat on being summoned to it by the King, who will then have fulfilled his engagements to his Imperial Majesty, and his Imperial Majesty will in that case be justified at Petersburg. It is truly painful to me not to be able to send back a more satisfactory answer. I have stated repeatedly and forcibly all the disadvantages that must result from it, but in vain. In short, *liberavi animam meam.*

Our alarm here has been very great on the report of

Hosted by Google

our evacuating Corsica, and of our withdrawing our fleet from the Mediterranean, which, of course, must have been followed by the departure of our squadron from the Adriatic, the mischief of which would have been boundless to the result of the Italian war. The assurances, therefore, that I have been able to give, in consequence of the arrival of a messenger from London with letters of the 20th past, of a determination to keep Corsica, and to order the fleet to remain, were received with transports of joy, — the fleet may remain, but Corsica is evacuated; the ex-Viceroy is at Porto Ferrario. Foreigners accuse us of want of steadiness in our counsels. What is said of the abuse of us in the Directory's note to Lord Malmesbury?

M. Eden.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Nov. 30th, 1796.

My dear Lord, — My labours are not yet brought to a close, nor is the result yet as precisely ascertained as I would wish, but after some fluctuations in the prospect, and the suggestion of different modifications, I think it on the whole, looks extremely well. I fear that I must submit to be chained down to this business, for every hour that I can give to it, till Monday, and have therefore no chance of being able to talk it over with you at Eden Farm, which I should not much differ with you in thinking rather a pleasanter place for that purpose or any other than Downing Street. As this is the case, I shall be much obliged to you if you allow me to take you at your word, and beg to see you here at any time between ten and four on Friday; by that time I think the plan will (as indeed it ought) have received nearly its last shape, and nothing will be more important than to settle a good paper, and arrange its circulation.

Ever sincerely yours,

W. Pitt.

Hosted by Google

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Friday.

My dear Lord, — I cannot wait till to-morrow to tell you the comfortable news, that the plan* as last arranged was received with the utmost unanimity and zeal at the Court of Proprietors to-day. The Bank as a body subscribed† a million, the directors individually four hundred thousand pounds. The directors of other public bodies in the same proportion as they have usually done to other loans. Books were immediately opened to receive the subscriptions, and filled rapidly. The enclosed note will show you the state according to my last accounts, and I find a general persuasion that the whole sum will be obtained voluntarily, without even giving time for subscriptions from the country, and probably without the necessity of any subsequent compulsion except that of additional payment on the assessed taxes. This will render much of what we should have had to talk of to-morrow superfluous, but I still hope you may not find it inconvenient to let me have the pleasure of seeing you, as there are topics enough which still remain.

Yours ever,

W. Pitt.

P.S. I enclose also a copy of the proposition in its latest shape.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Sheffield Place, Dec. 3rd, 1796.

I should suppose, if you had received my reply to your observations on the acidity of my energy, that you would have spared yourself the exhortation to

* The Loyalty Loan, the whole of which was subscribed in fifteen hours twenty minutes: it amounted to eighteen millions.

† On December 1st.

Hosted by Google

take part in recommending the loan, &c., to my proved friends and connections. I wish to know whether you have received that letter.

I am little disposed at present to examine whether the terms proposed are not as disadvantageous to the country as those which would have been exacted by our money-lenders, but they appear, on a slight view, so favourable and so exempt from risk, that I cannot think there will be much difficulty in finding subscribers, although there may be great uncertainty in finding the money. If I had ever engaged in such speculations, if I had any money, or could get any (my daughters have exhausted me, as I told you), I should subscribe as a *good thing*. Stanley* has subscribed 2000*l*. I originally disliked the measure, because it exposes, and proves that our usual boasted resources are exhausted, but having been attempted I shall rejoice in its success, as an emancipation of the Chancellor of Exchequer, and as a victory over our moneyed men, who take advantage of the distress of the country. The irresolution or wise flexibility of the existing Chancellor of Exchequer (which is likely to turn out well), satisfied me that he will not risk the odious coercive part. It would be an eminent proof of lack of wisdom, and if a voluntary loan should not succeed completely, it would be a most wanton effort of violence and oppression to extort considerable sums from unwilling hands. The enemies of Mr. Pitt could not wish him a greater mischief than such an attempt. It would be so indigestible that he could not fail to relinquish it, and with all the disgrace resulting from the failure of the most revolting and unprincipled measure, and in this I include all extravagant additional taxes for a year, on horses, servants, coaches, &c.

I find a pretty strong impression that the French Directory will not dare to send away Lord Malmesbury without making peace; but there is no great

* Sir John Stanley, Lord Sheffield's son-in-law.

Hosted by Google

difficulty in promoting certain underhand means of rendering our attempt abortive, and I have no great notion that the more noble Austrians will at present join in any suppliant mendicant treaty. To make a separate peace, after almost every description of people that have adhered to us had been ruined, would be a complete dereliction of all national character.

I am extremely anxious for the expulsion of the French from the Milanese. I have always flattered myself that the French could not pass the winter in Italy, or on the right of the Rhine, but the Austrian troops are in general so badly officered, and those in Italy led by such elderly ladies as Alvinzi and Wurmser, that I am not so sanguine as my correspondents on that head. I cannot believe the Austrians did the best even in Germany, otherwise such ill-disciplined marauders as the French could not have escaped even so indifferently as they did.

A letter of a late date from Pelham* says he has just received good accounts from the North, which, with the Italian news, gave him great spirits. He mentions that 17,000 volunteers are enrolled, above 20,000 offered. I am rather apprehensive of giving unlimited power to the country gentlemen to arm their people.

As you are but a cockney country gentleman, I have ordered a brace of pheasants and hares to be despatched to you by the first opportunity.

Yours ever,

SHEFFIELD.

P.S. To threaten those who will not subscribe, to oblige them to pay extravagantly, is in the tone of the highwayman or of the rogue who sends a threatening letter: "Deliver your money, or, d——n you, I'll blow it out of your pockets."

* The Irish Secretary.

Hosted by Google

Countess Brühl to Lord Auckland.

Harefield, Dec. 6th, 1796.

I return your Lordship many thanks for enclosing the letter with my awkward mistake; it was in truth meant for Lady Auckland, and I return it open to convince you I am but *half so silly* as appearances make me. The question I ask Lady Auckland in that letter I want soon answered, for I have letter after letter to say how pleased everybody is with the intended marriage of our minister* to your *chère fille*. I do hope and trust you have settled the loan and the taxes in a manner so as to alarm our foes, and make them feel their own distress doubly. Affairs in Italy go on unaccountably ill, and I cannot understand why the Austrians cannot fight there; but perhaps it is to be the completion of the prophecies, and the Papal chair is to be overthrown. Did I tell your Lordship I have lately had a letter from Mr. Graves, whom our merchants sent out as a kind of agent for our trade in Italy? He says the Pope is determined to resist and die in the cause. This resistance will cause the total destruction of Rome and all its noble contents.

Count de Brühl desires to present his compliments to your Lordship, and I am your Lordship's obliged and sincere humble servant,

C. DE BRÜHL.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Vienna, Wednesday, Dec. 9th, 1796.

My dear Brother,—I am very unwell, both body and mind, and very little disposed to take up a pen, but I cannot let slip the opportunity offered me by Baron Thugut, who is sending a messenger to England, of writing to you a few lines without reserve. My bodily complaints are of little moment, and will, I

* Mr. Pitt.

Hosted by Google

trust, be soon removed; but those of the mind become every day worse; and, indeed, our public prospects are so bad, and so likely to become worse, that I see nothing but misery for us all. The object of this messenger being sent is to urge anew the demand for pecuniary assistance, which has been declined to the extent required. In the mean time we are threatened with the arrival of a French plenipotentiary. No demand has as yet been made for a passport, nor has anything reached us on the subject except what has appeared in the *Rédacteur* and other public papers.

I wish to have permission refused to him, but the Austrian armies cry so loud for an armistice, and so much ill-humour prevails, as well on account of the refusal of money as of our sending first to Berlin, and afterwards to Paris, without any previous concert here, that I shall despair of success if the application be made, unless in the mean time news arrives of Lord Malmesbury's being recalled from Paris, which I sincerely wish, as I am convinced that his further stay will only be productive of new insults.

Another grief is our wish again to bring forward the King* of Prussia, and to find means of giving to him the Belgian provinces in case Austria will not engage to keep them but should prefer Bavaria. My friend† expressed the utmost astonishment at this plan, and after a pause asked me what we would do with the Elector Palatine,—would we strangle him, or send him to Botany Bay? Adieu. All is gloomy and very bad; and as I cannot see any chance of an honourable issue, I am quite dejected. I should have observed that M. de Thugut is fully aware of the insidious views of the Directory in proposing to send hither a plenipotentiary, and of the mischief that his arrival will occasion; but still, from his language, I fear that he will not advise the Emperor to reject the application for a passport. When I talk of con-

* Mr. Hammond had been sent on a secret mission to Berlin.
† M. Thugut.

Hosted by Google

cert, he shuts my mouth by citing the many instances of our acting without any previous application hither.

The business of Kehl* is a most arduous undertaking. In Italy affairs go very ill; Alvinzi is at Ala†, and preparing for another attempt for the relief of Mantua.

Again adieu. May every happiness attend you and yours.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Beresford.

Eden Farm, Dec. 22nd, 1796.

My dear Beresford, — We are all well here, and I will take the occasion to add a few words of a private and confidential kind. You may probably have seen, or heard by letters, a report of an intended marriage between Mr. Pitt and my eldest daughter. You know me too well to suppose that, if it were so, I should have remained silent. The truth is, she is handsome, and possessed of sense far superior to the ordinary proportion of the world. They see much of each other, they converse much together, and I really believe they have sentiments of mutual esteem; but I have no reason to think that it goes further on the part of either, nor do I suppose it is likely ever to go further.

Let us hear from you; and believe me ever affectionately yours,

AUCKLAND.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Dec. 24th, 1796.

My dear Lord, — My hopes of holidays are again unexpectedly disappointed by the account which reached us last night of the abrupt termination of our negotiation. Lord Malmesbury had delivered in a detailed project of our terms, accompanied by an

* The Austrians were besieging Kehl; it was taken by the Archduke Charles, Jan. 9th.

† On the Lake of Garda. It appears, in the Auckland MSS., that his army was in a wretched state of discipline.

Hosted by Google

offer to enter into full explanation on all its parts, or on any counter-projects the Directory might suggest. They, in answer, reverted to their former ground of the impossibility of alienating* anything which was annexed to France, required an ultimatum from him within forty-eight hours, and on his declining this, but repeating his offer of discussing his own *project*, or any from them, ordered him to quit Paris. He will probably be here to-morrow, and we have announced that on Monday the King will send a message to Parliament with an account of what has passed. In order to settle this, we must have a cabinet to-morrow, which I am afraid makes it quite impossible for me to stir from hence, as the mass of papers to be looked through is not a very small one. I rather believe, that, in order to give time for printing them, we shall defer the consideration of the message till Thursday, and in that case I do not despair of getting a day for coming to you in the interval.

If the treaty was to fail, I think it could not do so on better grounds for us.

Ever yours,

W. PITT.

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Sheffield Place, 25th Dec. 1796.

We are immersed in snow, and immediately after finishing a few lines to you on Friday, I waded through it to a deputy-lieutenant meeting, — not far indeed, but the country people had a long way to travel through hideous roads, no small addition to

* The negotiation failed through England demanding the restoration of the Low Countries to the Emperor. England had even not given up all idea of a new barrier in the Netherlands. In a despatch of Dec. 20th, Lord Malmesbury writes: — "I must add, that whenever I mentioned the restoration of the Netherlands to the Emperor, I always took care it should be understood they were to be accompanied by such further cessions as should form a competent line of defence." If this had been agreed to, England would have resigned all her conquests.

Hosted by Google

the *agrémens* of the three acts for the defence of the nation. I was silly enough to attend the general lieutenancy meeting at Lewes on Wednesday (I have not gone from home the last four months except to these meetings); but all we can do is to plague ourselves and the country, for we do not get on.

I like the answer to the Spanish declaration of war.* It seemed almost ridiculous to answer; however, it was necessary. I understand it proceeds from Lord Grenville, whose head as a statesman I conceive to be at least as good as that of any of his Majesty's ministers; yet he is, I must confess, the only one of them I do not know. The language is not throughout such as I should have expected. You also would have done it well—your critical taste and happy facile expression in writing is well adapted to such composition. As Lord Malmesbury is expelled from the territories of the Republic, we must only think of *bella, horrida bella.* We must again prepare our substitutes for statues, &c.

I understand Lord Malmesbury is expected on Thursday. I never supposed that our mendicant proceeding could procure such terms as our ministers would venture to accept, or the country would bear; I was satisfied that, whenever specific terms should be mentioned, the negotiation would end.

It is a great comfort to me that in our suppliant state we had the impudence to propose that the Dutch should be lopped of the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon, and that we should be the only nation benefited by the accession of territory. I *had* flattered myself that both would have been required to complete our Asiatic possessions. I should, and I think John Bull also would, have been highly dissatisfied if it had not been so. The disposition to relinquish the entire possession which I had imagined of the West Indies would have cost me more, if I had not found that Mr. Chancellor of Exchequer is utterly unprin-

* Against England.

Hosted by Google

cipled as to navigation.* But are we not truly in a lamentable state? I do not admit that we are carrying on war, and yet we are at war and in a most ruinous train. We cannot gain, we must lose. The superiority of our navy has not prevented any French expeditions, as I recollect, nor protected our Quebec, Labrador, Newfoundland, nor Mediterranean trades. I do not decide whether or where blame is to be imputed, but the mischief of such a merely defensive war is incalculable;—at the expense of the last two years, except the easy warfare with the Dutch and the recovery of St. Vincent, &c., what have we gained? And if we should make peace, shall we be in our senses if we disarm?

Yours ever,

SHEFFIELD.

* Lord Sheffield was a staunch supporter of the Navigation Laws.

Hosted by Google

CHAP. XXXVII.

Mr. Pitt and Eleanor Eden.—The French Expedition to Bantry Bay.—Fall of Mantua. — The Bank suspends Specie Payments. — Lord Auckland appointed Postmaster-General.—State of Affairs at Vienna. —The Conduct of the French at Rome.—Disappearance of the Pope's favourite Snuff-box. — Troubles in Ireland. — Letter of Hugh Elliot. — Conduct of Sir Ralph Abercrombie. — Impending Insurrection in Ireland. — Resignation of Sir Ralph Abercromby. —Bernadotte at Vienna.

It would have been unnecessary to allude to the attachment of Mr. Pitt to the eldest daughter of Lord Auckland, had not the subject been brought forward in other memoirs of the time; and it would be obviously objectionable to publish all the correspondence that passed on the point between Mr. Pitt and Lord Auckland. Probably, the very involved state of debt in which Mr. Pitt found himself made the marriage impossible; but he declared his attachment in the most open manner, assigning as a reason for having interrupted for a time the constant intercourse that took place between Hollwood and Eden Farm, that he "found it totally impossible to return thither without having (as far as it might depend on himself) formed a decision on a point that had remained in suspense too long already." He writes:—"It can hardly be necessary to say that the time I have passed among your family has led to my forming sentiments of very real attachment to them all, and of much more than attachment to one whom I need not name. Every hour of acquaintance with the person to whom you will easily conceive I refer, has served to augment and confirm that impression. In short, it has convinced me that whoever may have the good fortune to be united with her, is destined to more than his share of human happiness."

Hosted by Google

He blames himself for not having sooner looked into his difficulties, which he now finds have become insurmountable; but feels it impossible not to avow his attachment, and leaves it to Lord Auckland's discretion to impart what he had written to the person most concerned.

Several letters passed between Lord Auckland and Mr. Pitt, suggesting arrangements by which the marriage might in time take place without imprudence; but they were unavailing, and Mr. Pitt declared that, "though he was sacrificing his best hopes and dearest wishes to his conviction and judgment," further discussion would lead only to prolonged suspense and increased anxiety.

Mr. Hatsell to Lord Auckland.

Queen's Parade, Wednesday, Jan. 25th, 1797.

My dear Lord, — I am sorry that any expression in my last letter to you should have produced from you an explanation of a late event which, but for that circumstance, you would perhaps not have thought it necessary to communicate, at least not at this time. I can honestly assure you it was quite unintentional on my part. The Speaker had written me word that he was to be at *Hollwood* on the 15th, and the uncommon satisfaction he had often expressed himself to have received from his former visit at Eden Farm induced me to suppose that he would be glad to avail himself of this opportunity to repeat it. Mrs. Hatsell and I were both much mortified on reading your letter, amongst other things, because I have often heard the Speaker, who has known Mr. Pitt from a child, describe him as a person of uncommon good temper, and as having in his disposition very much of the softness and milkiness of human nature. However, we hope all is for the best. You may depend upon our strict observance of your injunctions in our conversation on this subject.

In the agitation of this domestic scene it is impos-

Hosted by Google

sible to have been much interested about what has been lately going forward in the public world. I have long thought it wise and found much comfort in not troubling myself about political speculations, with regard to *future* events; but it is impossible not to form an opinion* about what has already passed. And I am sorry to think that, if the fleet had been ready to sail when it ought to have been ready, or if it had sailed when it was ready, or if, when it did sail, it had gone (or a *part* of it) *directly* off Brest, it might have done services which this country would have felt the benefit of for fifty years to come. Who or whose is the cause of this failure I don't know; nor, indeed, as it cannot be remedied, do I much care.

I have been entertaining myself with Jacob Bryant's "Destruction of Troy and Annihilation of the Trojan War." If his conjectures are just, which I don't think he makes out, it adds much, in my opinion, to the character of Homer's "Genius." You know he supposes Homer to have been of an *Egyptian* family, living at *Ithaca*, but having *travelled* into Ionia. How very amusing these learned men are! I have also read Anderson's "History of the Chinese Embassy," from whence I collect that they are the wisest nation on the globe, who, having inadvertently committed a fault in permitting Europeans to come into the interior of their country, repaired that fault as soon as possible by turning them out again immediately. These, with Dumouriez's "Life," by himself, which I have read again with much pleasure, though I believe half of the anecdotes to be lies.

I am, my dear Lord, yours faithfully,

J. HATSELL.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, January 28th, 1797.

My dear Auckland, — I have received yours of the 24th. Your idea is most just when you lament that

* On the French fleet escaping from Bantry Bay.

Hosted by Google

the fleet has not been able to do more than they have done, for it would have been better that they had taken three ships than that the tempest had destroyed the whole of the French fleet: the ease with which the French got into Bantry, the length of time they lay there and off our coasts, and the retreat they have made into their own ports, without, I may say, molestation, even in the very distressed and disabled state they were in, has truly alarmed every thinking man in the nation: we see that we must in a like situation depend upon ourselves—and how are we prepared? You may remember that in the course of last summer I wrote to you how ill we were prepared at one time, and afterwards that we were better, but that "better" extended to the meeting what was stated to us to be the nature of the intended invasion, viz. an armament of from 3000 to 4000 men, sent on a hazard of making good a landing, and then a second, third, and fourth reinforcement of an equal number, to come either to augment the force of those already landed, or to make a diversion by landing at a different place. But what was the fact? An army of 25,000 men in full force, with every possible store, &c., necessary for such an expedition. We had, two days after they were at anchor in Bantry Bay, from Cork to Bantry, less than 3000 men, two pieces of artillery, and *no magazine of any kind, no firing, no hospital, no provisions*, &c., &c. No landing* was made,—Providence prevented it; if there had, where was a stand to be made? It is clear that Cork was gone; who could answer afterwards for the loyalty of the country, then in possession of the French? Would the northern parts of the country have remained quiet?—not an hour. How was the force to be managed? was the whole to land in Bantry, or was it to be divided to go part to Limerick, to Galway, to the North, &c.? I need go no fur-

* Luckily, the ship in which Hoche sailed was missing; and Grouchy, the second in command, did not like the responsibility of landing, or it is probable Ireland would have been lost.

Hosted by Google

ther; we remain as we were, no new strength acquired; grounds given to our enemies to know their own strength, and the ease of attacking us in such circumstances; and, cut off as they are on the Continent from their former game, their best chance is this country, and here we expect them again, and here I think they will come. I again say we are unprepared, and we have no money to put ourselves into a state of preparation; all this is known, and has put the best friends of both countries into ill-humour; but I hope that what you say may in some degree restore confidence, for you say that the subject now engages serious attention.

Yours ever,
J. BERESFORD.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Tuesday Jan. 30th.

My dear Lord, — There are accounts to-day from Italy, dated the 6th (from Colonel Graham, who had got to Alvinzi's head-quarters), stating that the Austrian army, reinforced so as to consist of 48,000 men, was beginning to advance for the purpose of making another attempt * to relieve Mantua. He had no certain account of the force or situation of the enemy, but seems to entertain better hopes of success than he has expressed on any former occasion. He having heard nothing of the result, though France rather promises favourably. There is no other news.

Yours ever,
W. PITT.

Archbishop of Canterbury to Lord Auckland.

Lambeth House, February 7th, 1797.

My dear Lord, — The Premier seems to live much out of sight, and is always *rêveur*—seems to be hoarse,

* The attempt was unsuccessful, and Mantua surrendered Feb. 2nd.

Hosted by Google

and at a late council his face appeared to me much swollen, and not like health.*

Yours very affectionately,

J. CANTUAR.

Archbishop of Canterbury to Lord Auckland.

Friday.

I am not easy at the separation which prevails at present, and which may too probably continue to prevail if not speedily put an end to, by increasing reluctance on each side to take the first step. I deprecate this, particularly on account of the very critical state of public affairs, which makes it, to my feelings, of importance to the country that such a separation should immediately be put an end to; and, besides that consideration, I am persuaded that it will be a relief to both your minds to meet, though the first moment will be unpleasant. Subjects more than enough will present themselves for conversation, and as soon as it appears that the particular subject will not be introduced on either side, discussions will engross you both, and things will go on between you much more easily and naturally than they will ever do if the present separation continues for a time. You wait for him to begin. I think he can't do it. He does not know what he is to expect in the meeting. I think, after what the Speaker † said, it may be easily and naturally set right through that medium, without any step on your part unfit for you to take, or that your feelings ought to revolt at. I think what the Speaker said of your talking together some morning was in its intention a proposal, and its effect rests with you. He is a right-minded and honourable man. Your seeing him is natural, and can't be wrong in any view of the thing. The subject must

* It seems to have been about this time that Mr. Pitt told Mr. Addington that he must make up his mind to take the government. See Life of Lord Sidmouth, vol. i. p. 183.

† Mr Addington knew the secret of Mr. Pitt's attachment.

Hosted by Google

arise between you, and the result will be as it should be. Pray think of this, and without delay.

I feel what I am saying is a duty to the country and to the individuals concerned, in whose happiness I am also heartily interested.

Yours very affectionately,

J. CANTUAR.

In consequence of the Archbishop's advice, Lord Auckland seems to have written to Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

(Private.) Downing Street, Tuesday, Feb. 21st.

My dear Lord, — I cannot say how much I feel obliged to you for your kind and friendly note. It will be the greatest satisfaction and assistance to me to think and talk over with you the subjects you mention, as soon and as fully as possible.

This morning, which, on account of a bad cold, has begun very late, is likely to be completely taken up, and I have some thought of dining at Wimbledon if I can get away; but I shall be happy to see you on my return to-morrow, which will probably be about twelve. To save you trouble, I will send to you as soon as I arrive.

Ever affectionately yours,

W. PITT.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Sunday, three-quarters past ten.

My dear Lord, — The effect of the continued drain from the country yesterday, added to that of some days past, has brought things to a state which must give a new turn to our operations; but the crisis, though difficult, may, I think, furnish the remedy.* I am likely to be engaged most of the day, but if you

* The Bank was restricted from paying in specie on February 26th, 1797.

Hosted by Google

can have the goodness to call here either now or any time before twelve, you will find me at liberty, and I should wish much to tell you what I refer to.

Yours ever affectionately,

W. PITT.

After the fall of Mantua, Bonaparte marched on Vienna, and, having defeated the Archduke Charles in several engagements, negotiations were commenced, and preliminaries of peace were signed at Leoben on the 18th of April. The definitive treaty was signed at Campo Formio on the 17th of October. By the provisions of this treaty, Lombardy became part of the new Cisalpine Republic. The Netherlands were ceded to France; but Austria was compensated for her losses with the territory of Venice, — an acquisition almost as valuable as Bavaria.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

(Secret and confidential.) Vienna, April 12th, 1797.

My dear Brother, — My late letters will have shown you the gradual decline of our affairs in this part of the world, both civil and military, and that the continuance of the alliance depended on the firmness of one man* alone. Being at this moment much hurried, I must, in as few words as possible, tell you the further progress.

The Archduke, beaten from place to place, and his army disconnected, himself and those around him confused, received on the † a letter from Bonaparte, from Klagenfurth, expressing his desire to stop the further effusion of blood and treat for peace with the Emperor. The Archduke wrote a civil answer, and transmitted the letter hither; in consequence of it, Generals Bellegarde and Meerfeldt‡ were ordered by

* M. Thugut.

† So in original.

‡ Meerfeldt was afterwards taken prisoner by the French during the battle of Leipsic, and was sent by Napoleon to the allies with the proposal of an armistice.

Hosted by Google

the Emperor to repair to Bonaparte's head-quarters to receive his proposals; in the mean time he had advanced to Brugg, and had he pushed on, such was the state of things and of men's minds both here and at the army, that he might doubtless have got possession of Vienna without firing a cannon, of which, by the bye, he has not any with him.

Generals Bellegarde and Meerfeldt found Bonaparte very civil; but he would not enter into any explanation of conditions till somebody should arrive vested by the Emperor with full powers to treat. He said that he felt that he had not to deal with the Pope or King of Sardinia; and in answer to their observation that he could not take Vienna without cannon, he observed that he too well knew the favourable disposition of its inhabitants towards him to think cannon necessary. He finished by granting a truce of six days to enable the Emperor to send to him a plenipotentiary.

Meerfeldt arrived here on Sunday with this answer, and yesterday returned with a full power to *confer on the subject of a peace with France;* the Neapolitan ambassador will follow him to-day to offer his good offices. Meerfeldt is first to endeavour to procure a prolongation of the armistice for three days to exhibit his powers, and then a further one of fourteen: if he succeeds in settling on a place of negotiation to gain time, and money in the mean time come from England, all may yet go well.

On Monday Mack arrived; he will remain with us and direct the operations under Terzi, the vice-commandant of the province and town. The Archduke's army, consisting of about 10,000 men at Stener, and of Seckendorff's corps of about 8000 that is now between Brugg and this place, have orders immediately to repair hither, when we shall have about 28,000 men besides the citizens. The Archduke himself will come hither to-day for a few hours, and will then go to Ulm and resume the command of the army of the Rhine. All strangers have been

Hosted by Google

sent from hence. Cannon are being mounted on the ramparts, and the best means of defence preparing. The younger part of the Imperial family goes towards the end of the week to Prague. Lady Elizabeth and my children will wait till the result of Meerfeldt's new mission be known. The Emperor, if he removes, goes to Hungary, whither the Russian ambassador and myself shall follow him. The other Government ministers go to Prague or remain here, as they think best.

In the midst of these unhappy scenes, my friend, though much affected, yet retains his firmness,—if a separate peace be made he retires. If so, of course I shall. But I hope that this will not happen, as the spirit here of the lower classes is good, notwithstanding the dastardly example of their superiors, that, I may say, have by their conduct endeavoured to push them even to revolt, for such would have been their demand at a moment like the present of peace. Prince Stahremberg is particularly urgent for peace, and has given in a most strong memorial on the subject. You will judge of my embarrassments, particularly as I am daily called upon for news of the loan, and the Bourse here being more strongly run upon than our own. Adieu. My love to my friends.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Wednesday, September 20th.

My dear Lord, — You will, I am sure, grieve with me on hearing that I received this morning from Cornwall the afflicting account that a return of Eliot's* complaint has proved fatal. From the accounts I had lately received I was not at all prepared for such an event.

Ever, my dear Lord, affectionately yours,

W. Pitt.

* Mr. Pitt's brother-in-law.

Hosted by Google

Lord Sheffield to Lord Auckland.

Sheffield Place, October 27th, 1797.

As I have no information, no intelligence to communicate in return for your agreeable missive of the 17th, I shall send to you the epitaph on Gibbon which I have lately received from Dr. Parr. It satisfies me very much, especially when I consider how difficult for an ecclesiastic to touch such a subject.

As to Burke's* disposition to excite the Roman Catholics against the Government in Ireland, I am perfectly satisfied it is true; nothing too extravagant or mischievous for that wild creature.

I have been well entertained with the "Pursuits of Literature" by an author as masterly and as unknown as Junius.† This undiscoverable writer‡ certainly walks about among us in the *known world*, and yet we know him not. He is dyed in grain in classic lore, of refined and elegant taste, and of good principles in religion, morality, and politics; but, like all human creatures, the satirist overrates some characters as much as he undervalues others, and surely there is somewhat of garrulity and of narrow-minded bigotry in respect to the Popish priesthood. Jekyll is to be here this day, and Batt to-morrow, so that I shall have the effusions of both parties. Do not give a copy of the epitaph to anybody.

Yours ever,
SHEFFIELD.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

(Private.) Hollwood, Sunday, half-past one.

My dear Lord, — I am contending as well as I can with melancholy reflections, and exerting myself in putting into a shape our great scheme of finance, in which, if I do not deceive myself, I have made an

* Burke died in July 1797. † Mathias.
‡ "Junius" is as great a mystery in 1862 as it was in 1797.

Hosted by Google

useful progress. To-morrow I am obliged to go to Wimbledon to meet Sir R. Abercromby, but shall return here to dinner, and should much like to show you the outline and discuss it, if you can call here conveniently on Tuesday morning.

Ever affectionately yours,
W. PITT.

Lord Mornington to Lord Auckland.

Funchal, Island of Madeira, November 25th, 1797.

My dear Lord, — I am anxious to take the earliest opportunity of acknowledging the several kind notes which I had the pleasure of receiving from you during the hurry or rather the agony of my last moments in England. Pray believe that I am deeply sensible of your friendly attentions to me and to Lady Mornington*; and that I shall always remember your amiable family with those sentiments of admiration and cordial interest which must be raised in the mind of every person who has the happiness of being admitted into your society. Your kindness to Lady Mornington will occasion no trouble to you with your good-nature and obliging disposition, and it will be invaluable to her and to me under her present affliction.

I arrived here on the 21st, after a passage of twelve days of variable weather. The voyage fatigued me; but I feel myself to be in *remarkably* good health (I assure you this *remarkably* was a slip of my pen). Our ship, the *Virginia*, was compelled by a sudden change of wind to slip her cables and go to sea the night before last. This is a common accident in this anchorage; and, as the weather is very good, we expect her safe return with the first favourable wind; in the meanwhile, Sir H. Christian and I remain in this beautiful island and delicious climate, quaffing

* A daughter of M. Pierre Roland.

Hosted by Google

excellent Madeira, until the wind shall call us to sea again.

"Nunc vino pellite curas:
Cras ingens iterabimus æquor."

Ever, my dear Lord, yours most sincerely,
MORNINGTON.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Hollwood, Monday, Feb. 6th.

My dear Lord, — I meant to have answered your note yesterday evening, but was prevented by a variety of avocations. I remain here to-day, but must return to town to-morrow to stay there till Saturday, in the course of which time I think I can answer for it that the arrangement will at length be completely settled and announced. I am afraid I have no chance of seeing you till the end of the week, unless you should happen to be without any company or engagement, and could take a quiet dinner here to-day. You will find nobody but Rose, and perhaps my brother.

Ever yours,
W. PITT.

I return the Duke of Marlborough's letter. I hope his subscription * will not be less than 5000*l.* The Duke of Buccleugh gives 6000*l.* It would be highly useful if this subscription, and as many more as possible, could be made before Friday, when there is to be a general meeting of merchants, &c.

Lord Auckland to Mr. Hugh Elliot.

Eden Farm, Kent, Feb. 12th, 1798.

My dear Elliot, — This age of incessant agitations and anxieties is not good for letter-writing. It is in general painful to me to take up a pen, for it is apt to lead me into a minuter examination of the increased and increasing calamities among mankind than I

* For the war. It amounted altogether to 1,500,000*l.*

Hosted by Google

should otherwise attempt. Nothing certainly can be more complete than the subversion of several powers and states upon the continent; and yet the hurricane seems to be still in its progress, and to blow with violence towards every part of the compass. Leaving it to its course, I will confine the little that I shall say to the state of Old England and to domestic circumstances.

We have certainly thus far reason to be proud of the good sense and generous spirit of our countrymen amidst all the untoward circumstances, the multiplied disappointments, and unexampled pressure of the war. At this hour every symptom of a Jacobinical tendency is regarded with detestation, and is discountenanced and beaten down. Our fleets have the entire command of the ocean; and, internally, we are an armed nation, composed, perhaps, of ignorant tacticians, but steady and brave, and perfectly unmoved by the threats from the opposite coasts, which never affected our funds, though probably meant for that purpose more than for any other.

With respect to our finances we are doing well. On the first proposition of the assessed tax measure there was an attempt to create impatience and popular opposition, but it gradually gave way; and, exclusive of what the measure will raise by the force and effect of law, the voluntary contributions already amount to near 600,000*l.*; and I have little doubt that in the course of three weeks more they will rise to double that sum; though it is a calculation subject to many incidental changes and uncertainties. In the circle in which I live, we are all giving about a fifth* of our incomes, including our additional assessments. The whole produce is not very material in the large scale of our national expense; but it has an excellent effect in quieting the complaints of others, none of whom are compelled to give more than a tenth. As to the further loan which we shall

* Lord Auckland's income was 3500*l.* a year, and he subscribed 700*l.*

Hosted by Google

have occasion to raise, I foresee no material difficulty. I leave the rest to the will of Providence, for I really do not see how or when we are to get out of our scrape.

Such a state of interesting considerations produces many able and excellent publications; but they are so blended with internal politics and allusions, and with the varying events of the day, that they would lose much of their interest if you were to attempt to read them at Dresden; and yet without reading them it is impossible to form any competent notion of what we are doing.

I will now go to less public topics. We think it long since we have heard from you or from Isabella. Lady Auckland will write to the latter by this conveyance. All well under this roof. We shall move to Palace Yard next week, for about four months, and shall present our third daughter Charlotte, who is well-looking, I believe I may say handsome.

You will probably see in the English newspapers that an arrangement is taking place which is giving to me the office of Postmaster-General. As it is not done, I hardly feel at liberty to talk of it: but some such measure is certainly in forwardness, and has even received the royal approbation. The office is not of the Cabinet, nor would it, after deducting what I must give up*, add materially to my income. The salary is 2500*l.* nett. But there are many other considerations which would make it more acceptable to me than any other office either attainable now or probable to be soon attained.

We shall be glad to have a good account of your health. You used to talk of bad circumstances, the profession of poverty, and this is now become fashionable and very general. And yet the country is very rich, and the Bank has at this moment above six millions sterling of cash; and though they offer

* Lord Auckland gave up his pension of 2000*l.* a year for diplomatic services.

Hosted by Google

to take in the small notes and to pay guineas, the money is not called for. My paper is finished.

Yours very affectionately,

AUCKLAND.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Tuesday, Feb. 13th, 1798, 3 P.M.

My dear Lord,—I have now made the communication of the arrangement to all to whom it is necessary, and have announced to the new Privy Seal* and Master† of the Horse that they are to receive their appointments to-morrow. Though I have not yet their answers, I think I may safely presume that there is no danger of their not attending. I hope, therefore, to meet you at the font to-morrow, and to see the baptism at length completed. I am afraid in this instance the delay has rather arisen on the part of the curate than of the congregation.

Ever affectionately yours,

W. PITT.

I have just received Lord Chesterfield's answer cheerfully accepting.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Vienna, March 8th, 1798.

My dear Brother,—I am waiting with no small degree of anxiety to learn the decision of his Majesty's Ministers on the line of conduct to be pursued towards this Court in the event of its not fulfilling its pecuniary engagements; in these it has failed, and in the manner most dishonourable to itself and the most offensive to us. Lord Grenville intimated to me in a late letter, in consequence of Mr. Straton having applied for leave of absence, that it could not be granted under circumstances which may lead to a change in the nature of mission (if any) which may be kept at Vienna. This intimation was accompanied with very satisfactory assurances of the King's approbation of

* Lord Westmorland. † Lord Chesterfield.

Hosted by Google

my conduct; but though, completely disgusted with my situation, and foreseeing that this Government will not make any attempt to shake off the vile yoke that it has imposed on itself, I wish to retire, yet I should be sorry to have my career terminate in a manner that will be interpreted as an inculpation of me, and thus have my name, after twenty-two years of faithful services, prostituted in the page of the history of these melancholy times. I have been here in most arduous moments, and, notwithstanding the unhappy issue of our connection, I look back with satisfaction on my own conduct, and am indeed willing to have it tried by my correspondence.

I now never see M. de Thugut, but I understand that he continues to reprobate in the strongest terms, to all those that approach him, the treaties of Loeben and Udine, as dishonourable to this country, and leading to the overthrow of all the thrones of Europe. In this opinion he must be sincere; the facts are too palpable for a man of much less sagacity than he has not to discern them; but how can he then stay in place and thus give his sanction to them? When I think of his former consistency and the real friendship and veneration that I had for him, his present conduct adds to the bitterness of my feelings at the disgraceful events of which I have been a witness.

The French ambassador, Bernadotte, has had his audience and received the visits of the *Corps Diplomatique* and the nobility. The conversation for the last week runs entirely upon him, and I am weary with it, and all the nonsense of a set of gaping blockheads who either cannot or will not see their danger, and who for a dinner will treat him with the vilest adulation. He is a plain man, may have good sense, and be an excellent officer; but he is without education. His father was a shoemaker at Pau, and nine years ago he was a private in the *Régiment Royale Marine.* He has with him some young men, who are said to be thorough Jacobins, and are likely zealously to carry on here the work of proselytism. He himself

Hosted by Google

openly expresses his dislike to this line of life, and says that he has desired to be employed either in the army of England or in that of Portugal.

Yours affectionately,

M. EDEN.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

March 16th.

I left my letter unfinished on the supposition that Mr. Ryan's departure might be deferred; and so it has happened, for he is still here, but says that he shall certainly set out to-morrow.

Since my letter was written, the Prussian Minister has had an audience of the Emperor to present a letter from the King of Prussia*, in which that monarch recommends an acquiescence in the demand of the French of the cession of all the territory on the left bank of the Rhine, vaunts his own sacrifices on this occasion, and proposes, as an indemnification to himself for them, the acquisition of the Bishopric of Munster, with a solemn engagement on the part of the Emperor, as the price of this moderation, that his Imperial Majesty shall renounce all views on Bavaria, and of further aggrandisement in Italy; or, should the Emperor be unwilling to contract this engagement, that his Imperial Majesty shall concur in his Prussian Majesty's making in the empire further acquisitions proportionate to any new ones which the Emperor may himself make, and in some secularisation in favour of the House of Orange. This alternative, it is given to be understood, would be preferred at Berlin.

The Emperor's answer, I am assured, is couched in very general terms. He accepts neither alternative, but exhorts his Prussian Majesty to join his efforts to those of his Imperial Majesty, to maintain, in as far as it may be found practicable, the empire in its present state. I believe this to be really the wish, as it is doubtless the interest, of this Court; but, as

* Frederick William III.

Hosted by Google

these exhortations are not likely to be listened to at Berlin, the seizure of the Bishopric of Munster will lead to a general secularisation; and that, probably, to the total dissolution and partition of the empire.

The public papers will have informed you of the enormities committed by the French at Rome, and of the many indignities shown to the sovereign. They stripped him of all his property and jewels, even taking from him a favourite snuff-box * and the *Anneau du Pêcheur*. The alarm at Naples and at Florence is very great. A messenger arrived a few days ago from the former of those places, with instructions to the Neapolitan Chargé d'Affaires to state to this Government the alarm that prevailed on account of the progress of the French; that considerable military preparations were carrying on; but that, it being impossible for the Neapolitan Government to make alone any effectual resistance against France, his Sicilian Majesty demanded a concert of counsels and measures with this Court; and above all the Chargé d'Affaires had orders to urge a speedy and explicit declaration of the Emperor's sentiments and determination.

Little hope is to be entertained of any useful concert being established between the two Courts, and both the Neapolitan and Tuscan Governments are likely to be left to share the fate of Rome, though M. de Thugut, when I some time ago stated this to be an inevitable consequence of the Emperor's inglorious peace, said, that if either Naples or Tuscany were attacked by the French, his Imperial Majesty would have recourse to arms in their defence. I sincerely grieve at this melancholy prospect, though both the Neapolitan and Tuscan Governments deserve the fate that awaits them, particularly the former, a movement of whose army would have saved Mantua, and have given us a decided superiority over France.

* Bonaparte had made the unfortunate Pope pay 30,000,000 livres, and robbed him of his most valuable pictures. Berthier now commanded the troops at Rome.

Hosted by Google

I have received your letter of the 20th past, and sincerely congratulate you on your appointment. I will show every attention to your recommendation of M. Giacommazzi, in whose favour I some time ago, by desire of Lord Grenville, made an application to Baron Thugut, who promised me that he should be employed in the new Government at Rome.

Adieu, my dear brother; may every happiness attend you and yours.

Ever your obliged and affectionate brother,

MORTON EDEN.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, 19th March, 1798.

My dear Lord,—We keep struggling on. I understand the North is seriously better; the old leading agitators still very busy; but the lower classes at work, and peaceable and industrious. I believe no part of the King's dominions more apparently quiet or more evidently flourishing than the North of Ireland.

Dublin is broken in its organisation by our late captures*; and certainly there is much confusion among the rebels.

The assizes have been in general very successful through the South in convictions; but no real change yet in the lower classes. The Popish spirit has been set up against the Protestants by reporting every Protestant to be an Orange man, and by inculcating that every Orange man has sworn to exterminate the Papists; to these fictions are added the real pressure of high rents from the undertakers of land, and high tithes from tithe proctors.

A general rising is still talked of; and if the French make a landing, it may take place in the South.

I write thus because, in a letter to Lees, your Lordship seems sensible of our state, and that nothing but real vigour can save us.

* At the house of Oliver Bond.

Hosted by Google

I fear we cannot convict *legally* our prisoners, though we have evidence upon evidence; but they *must* be punished, or the country is gone. Attainder, if ever, is justifiable.

To show you how the South is affected, I subjoin a return of a corps of infantry and yeomanry, near Fermoy, received this day:—

3 ready for permanent service.
10 in prison as United Irishmen.
2 absconded from justice.
2 murdered by United Irishmen.
11 resigned and have sent in their arms, &c.
19 resigned and have not sent in their arms.

47

This is not credible, but is true. However, it is unique. In general the yeomanry is firm. We have, however, some corps in Meath and Kildare doubtful; and many are infected in Dublin. We have one or two bad militia regiments.

If the French come out and are defeated, I think the rebellion here will be put down, but still by vigour only. I fear relaxation and too much clemency; but the snake must be killed, not *scotched*.

All this is to yourself. Ever your Lordship's most sincere servant,

E. Cooke.

Lord Clare to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, March 23rd, 1798.

My dear Lord,—I have been enabled after a long search to recover two of Mr. Edmund Burke's Popish despatches; I have some more of them, which, if I can lay hold of, I will send to you. The occasion upon which one of these conciliatory letters was written, was the punishment of a soldier for insolence to his commanding officer on parade, when the regiment was assembled to march to church. The fellow had frequently gone to church with his comrades, but on

Hosted by Google

this particular day refused in terms of great insolence to his officer, for which he was flogged. Certainly it would have been better if the officer had kept his crime in recollection, and availed himself of some other opportunity to punish him. Send me back these copies when you may have made your use of them. And you are at full liberty to make any use of my endorsement upon one of them, which, you will see, was written in a moment of warmth, but contains my decided opinion of the man and of his demerits with respect to this country.

You have heard of the arrest of a provincial committee*, and of those of the Executive of the United Irishmen. I have some hope that we shall soon make another haul, but unless we can summon resolution to take a very decided step, and to attaint the conspirators by Act of Parliament, I have no hope of bringing them to justice. It is not possible to prevail with men who give secret information to come forward in a court of justice; and if these villains escape with a temporary imprisonment only, there will be no possibility of living in Ireland. They have been heretofore enabled with impunity to organise the country, and to make it a scene of general and horrid outrage. And unless these underlings are taught to feel that there is a power in the State sufficient to counteract and to punish their machinations, they must inevitably overrun the country.

I feel the peevish indiscretion of Sir Ralph Abercromby's order† as strongly as you feel it, and it is provoking that the critical situation in which we stand, made it ineligible to resent his intemperance as it merited. The order was issued without communication or notice of any kind to Lord Camden, on the day before he set out from hence on a tour to inspect the army in the Northern province. He disclaims all intention of counteracting the proclama-

* The Leinster.

† On Feb. 26th, Sir R. Abercromby stated, in a general order, that "the Irish army was only formidable to everybody but the enemy."

Hosted by Google

tion issued last year under the authority of both Houses of Parliament, and professes his readiness to act under it. But he states in his defence that he found a general relaxation of discipline in the army, and that his only object was to restore it.

If Lord Moira had not retracted his charges against the Irish army in the most explicit terms, both in public and private, this Scotch beast certainly would have given him strong ground to stand upon.

I am informed that I have offended the Prince of Wales most grievously, by presuming to ridicule Lord Moira's confidence in the symptoms of admiration exhibited in the countenances of his barbarians at Ballinahinch when he harangued them. Is it possible that he can be so duped by Lord Moira? The pamphlet which I sent you is full of beastly blunders committed in the printing-office.

Yours always very truly, my dear Lord,

CLARE.

Many thanks to you for your regular supply of pamphlets by Mr. Freeling. The newspaper accounts of the attack on me are much exaggerated. Some forty or fifty blackguards did follow me down Castle Hill; but, as I never go out unarmed, on my facing them suddenly with a pistol in my hand, they retreated with precipitation.

Lord Clare to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, Monday.

My dear Lord,—I should suppose that Sir Ralph Abercromby must have lost his senses. Lord Camden kept his resignation* perfectly secret, nor would it have been made known by him until he was apprised that the King had accepted it. However, on Saturday Sir Ralph thought fit to write to General Craig, who commands the garrison of Dublin, to inform him that he was about to give up his command, and his resig-

* Sir Ralph was succeeded by General Lake.

Hosted by Google

nation is now public. It looks as if this last act of peevish folly was dictated by his resentment at being forced to countermand his absurd order, which has led to a degree of confusion unexampled here since the rebellion of 1688.

The whole of the province of Munster and many of the counties of Leinster are in a complete state of anarchy, if not of open rebellion. The town of Cahir in the county of Tipperary was disarmed on Tuesday last at noonday, by a body of light-handed rebels, many of them apparently of a better class. They posted guards at all the avenues, and proceeded from house to house disarming the inhabitants. And the business was not effected in less than two hours. Lord Lake's people had notice of the intended attack, and sent to the next military station for a force to resist it, but under Sir Ralph's order* not a soldier could stir. The commanding officer, however, hearing of the attack, ventured, from the nature of it, to disobey the general order, and to send a military force to Cahir, not however until after the rebels had taken away above one hundred stand of arms, and gone off with them unmolested.

A few days before a patrol in the county of Kildare came up with a gang of twenty or thirty, who had just robbed two gentlemen's houses of arms, and were loaded with the spoil; but as they did not attack the patrol, they did not dare to fire on them, and the ruffians got off unmolested. The system of robbery is extending rapidly over large parts of the country, and the gentry have fled universally into towns for refuge. The people do not cultivate the ground, so that, if this proceeds much further, the best which we can expect will be famine.

Under these circumstances Lord Camden was obliged to issue a peremptory command to Sir Ralph to revoke his general order, and to give immediate directions to the troops to reduce the rebels, for which

* By Sir Ralph's order, troops were forbidden to act without the authority of a magistrate.

Hosted by Google

desirable purpose he has been invested with full discretionary powers. This command he has obeyed, and he set out this day to superintend the operations of the army in person. I am told that he has declared that he will do his business effectually in a fortnight, and if he acts with spirit, I have no doubt he will. If he does not, the King should disgrace him.

It is a curious fact that we know by private information that his order was universally circulated by the United Irishmen amongst their friends, as an encouragement to them to proceed in the business of murder and robbery without apprehension. And certainly no better encouragement could have been held out to them.

Many thanks to you for Lord Grenville's excellent speech. The language which has been lately held in the British Parliament on the subject of Ireland will do much good here.

Yours always very truly, my dear Lord,

CLARE.

Mr. Hugh Elliot to Lord Auckland.

Dresden.

My dear Lord,—I am much obliged to you for the general statement you send me, in yours of the 12th February, of the spirit and resources of our countrymen. From my retreat I must rest all my hopes of our final success upon my confidence in the wisdom and vigilance of those who are charged with the conduct of the vessel in so perilous a storm. That the French seriously meant invasion, both in England and Ireland, I am convinced; and although they may, perhaps, never carry their project into execution, this must be ascribed solely to the vigour with which you have prepared to meet them either by sea or upon their landing. The present governors of France certainly aimed destruction at the British empire, by striking their dagger at the heart; and although I trust that the blow is already parried, yet it is not to

Hosted by Google

be inferred that, had we been less upon our guard, it would not have been attempted.

From the base and pusillanimous conduct of other powers in Europe, we may at least derive a useful lesson, viz. that there is no safety in concession, and that, whether we sign treaties of peace with the French, or remain in a state of open war, we never can venture to disarm our fleets or disband our armies as long as they continue to be an armed nation, uninfluenced in their conduct towards other powers by any other principle than the thirst for blood and the desire of pillage.

One good consequence might, perhaps, follow from a pacification (provided we remained armed as in time of war), that the French generals and demagogues would soon quarrel with each other, and decide their broils by civil war. But although it is much the fashion, in this part of Europe, to assert that a *secret* negotiation for peace between France and England is already established, and that with a reasonable prospect of success, I cannot give credit to the report, as I see no symptoms in France of anything that approaches to such a spirit of conciliation as might justify our rulers to trust the future safety of England to the observance, on the part of the French, of any stipulations which it might afterwards be their interest to dispense with. Sardinia, Venice, Rome, Switzerland, &c. &c., are bleeding examples of the little trust which ought to be put in the good faith of an impious government. However uncomfortable, therefore, it may be to the feelings of an industrious, commercial, and peaceful nation like ours, to become at once a nation of soldiers and seamen, I confess I see no alternative between such a state and that of being one day the prey of our ravenous and enterprising neighbours.

From continental powers I look for no assistance; their mistaken and weak policy has brought upon them the contempt of their own subjects; and notwithstanding their numerous armies, their whole

Hosted by Google

attention is now absorbed in watching the progress of those seeds of dissolution which they have themselves sown. No wise man conceives that a few dirty acquisitions, obtained at the expense of defenceless neighbours, and granted by France, can add much to the future stability either of Prussia or of Austria, What a smile gave, a frown may take away. Every hour proves to me, more and more, that if the two great German military powers attempt to extend this shameful barter of territory against principle much further, they will also soon exchange their thrones for municipalities.

The empire contains within itself at this moment *Six hundred thousand* regular troops, fully armed and appointed, cavalry, infantry, and artillery, in due proportion, all fit to take the field at a few weeks' notice.

Governments may, if they please, plead poverty; but in no period of the history of the nations which compose the German confederacy was there ever so great riches spread over all the circles of the empire as at present. In my opinion there could not be any enterprise undertaken with greater certainty of success than that of driving back the French to their own frontiers in *one campaign*, if the German powers united in the attempt. But, instead of adopting this (the only plan for securing their safety), they are busily employed in forming projects, at the instigation of France, for dismembering each other. Such, my dear Lord, is the real state of the tottering empire, which will soon be buried in a heap of ruins as bloody and deformed as those which have overwhelmed the French monarchy.

From a distance England offers, in appearance, a bright contrast to the foregoing dismal picture. I trust it is not in appearance alone that we rise above the storm, and that there is no delusion in the accounts we receive here of the extent of our naval and military armaments.

Every account of my daughter from Prague is

Hosted by Google

good. I add a short statement of the *mœurs* of the corps diplomatique which would have composed her only society here this winter:—

Madame d'——, the Austrian minister's wife, a young woman of twenty; a most indecent and open intrigue with a lieutenant of hussars.

Madame de ——, the Palatine minister's *moitié*, brought to bed thirteen months after she had quitted her husband to make the tour of Italy with a young Englishman. The child and the lady now both here, and the husband ordered *Te Deum* to be sung in his chapel for the birth of an heir.

God grant that I may one day see my daughter settled in England!

H. E.

Mr. Cooke to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, April 2nd, 1798.

My dear Lord, — Sir Ralph has not only resigned, but signified his resignation to the general officers! He is gone into Munster with full martial-law powers to quell the rebellion there, which is more dangerous to individuals than the State, for I think its breaking-out will do good.

I am in a good train for information of the fullest nature: but I have been so frequently disappointed that if I fail I shall not hang myself.

Lord Grenville's* speech is excellent. The Chancellor snuffed the word "Treason."

The French, be assured, have promised to make an attempt of landing 25,000 men in Ireland this month. I hope you will be therefore vigilant at sea. We are not in the cue to meet them at the present moment.

Pelham† moves slowly, I hope surely. Lord Castlereagh's appointment was unavoidable.

Sir Ralph sent a message through Lieutenant-General Craig, and through Lord Charles Fitzroy, to

* Lord Grenville warmly defended the Irish Government.

† The Irish Secretary; he was succeeded by Lord Castlereagh.

Hosted by Google

Sir Lawrence Parsons*, requesting that more attention might be paid to the King's County Militia. Sir Lawrence took the message in dudgeon, resigned, and republished an inflammatory speech in the "Evening Post." He is no loss to the service at all.

You must expect to hear of our being unquiet for some time.

Ever most truly your Lordship's servant,

E. COOKE.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

(Private). Curraghmore, April 10th, 1798.

My dear Auckland,—I really do not know whether Government do or do not communicate to your ministry the papers and evidences of treason and rebellion which come before our cabinet; but if they do, ministers must perceive the state that this country is in, and that it must, in fact, be conquered again, or lost to Great Britain. People at a distance can, without evidence before them, but ill judge of our situation.

We that are on the spot, witnesses of everything, whose lives and properties are at stake, whose dearest connections are every day threatened with massacre, who see our connection with Great Britain and our constitution in Church and State on the brink of ruin, whose everything dear and valuable in life depends upon the measures which shall be taken to avert the danger, are supposed to be foolishly, wantonly, and corruptly pushing the people forward to the committal of those crimes which must be our ruin. How can rational men entertain such notions!

The country is in a desperate state; the seeds of rebellion are sown far and wide; and the Irish Directory have now so organised every part of the kingdom, that they can make them rise when they please: in Munster, Leinster, and Connaught, it is a Popish plot; in Ulster, a Presbyterian plot; but in each case the end is the same—a separation from

* Afterwards Lord Rosse.

Hosted by Google

Great Britain and a republican government. The clergy are deep in the business — I mean the Popish and Presbyterian clergy; and the former have actually persuaded the people in Munster that their salvation depends upon murdering and massacring every person who stands in their way; and they have established such a system of terror, that it is with the greatest difficulty any magistrate can be got to act, or any witness to come forward: they murder every man whom they suspect in the slightest manner to be inclined to give evidence against them. How is such a system to be opposed? Is it by Lord Moira's conciliation, or by Sir Ralph Abercromby's lenient measures? They know little of the disposition of the people: the people are guided by those who will not be reconciled by anything that could be done. Did not the Directory resolve, upon the very day * that Lord Moira made his motion in our House of Lords, among other matters, "that they would not pay any sort of regard to what might be done by either House of Parliament, as nothing short of a complete reformation of the Government would satisfy them"? and have we not these resolutions in our possession, with many other authentic proofs, in writing, of their resolution to overturn the Government and unite with France? and have we not authentic documents to prove their organisation of an army for these purposes? and are we to sit down quietly and wait until the French come to their assistance, and insure their success; or until they enrol the whole country against us, and corrupt the army and militia? If proper measures are not immediately taken to punish capitally those heads of the body now in confinement, and to stop the progress of the mischief among the common people, we shall be lost. And how is the latter to be done? They show us how they think they can carry their point, viz. by terror; and that points out to us how to counteract them; and experience in the North confirms the fact.

* The 19th of February.

Hosted by Google

The people are persuaded that everything they have obtained has been given them through fear, and that it is fear of them alone which prevents us from taking the same measures in the other three provinces which were taken in Ulster—that was forcing them to give up the arms they had plundered loyal subjects of, and to stop from depredations, by threatening to throw down or burn their houses, and destroy their property: that stopped them at once, without the necessity of destroying more than a dozen houses. They had destroyed ten times as many, and had plundered innumerable others, and murdered many persons, and continued to do so, until they found retaliation begin, when they stopped directly. They are now in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, robbing, plundering, and burning houses, hay-yards, corn, &c.; murdering witnesses and magistrates; assassinating every man who they think either is or may be active against them; and in the middle of the noonday, in the streets of towns, obliging, by force and threats, men to take their oaths and pay contributions for their plans. Their threats are, that if the people will not take their oaths,—first, that of keeping secret what they see and hear; and next, that they will be of their brotherhood and true to the French,—that their lives and properties shall be destroyed; and they do actually murder people, merely for the purpose of keeping up their system of terror.

We are thus deprived of witnesses; we see and know everything that is doing, but cannot bring legal evidence to convict these people. Are we, then, to give up the game; or are we to turn their own weapons against them? We are able to do so now. Wait for the French, and who can tell the event? Is it right and just that all the loyal and respectable subjects of his Majesty should be robbed, plundered, murdered, and assassinated, rather than retaliate upon these miscreants? Are the wicked to be allowed to persecute, with every species of illegality

Hosted by Google

and barbarity, the peaceable and loyal ? And is it right that our friends on your side the water, whose battles we are here fighting with our own, should join in a cry against us ? If, in such circumstances, we should use the power which the law gives us, to counteract such outrages by the military—even if we did in some instances exceed the law—it is probable that a dozen acts of severity may have happened on our side—how many hundred have been performed by the rebels ? In short, if three-fourths of the people will harass, worry, and persecute the other fourth by every act of violence and outrage, and that they are to be opposed only by those laws to which they pay no regard, it is very easy to see what must be the issue of such a contest. Had the country been proclaimed, according to the Insurrection Act, three months ago, the kingdom would now have been quiet; but things are gone so far, that I vow to God I tremble for the event, more especially as the Directory have never-ceasing agents endeavouring to corrupt the army, the militia, and the yeomanry, and, as we find, with too much success. How many of the military have been shot within six months, and not one of their murderers brought to punishment ? Do you think it would be very monstrous to enact a law, subjecting any man detected in seducing the military to be tried by a court-martial, and executed by martial law ? Such a law was proposed last year, but thought too strong; and yet, had it passed, many lives would have been saved, and we should have had more confidence in the military than we have.

Our gentry here have acted well this assizes. We never had such a numerous appearance of men of property, and those off the grand have all attended petit juries; and I must say that the Roman Catholics of property, who have been on the juries, have done their duty. There was but one man escaped, as yet, who in my opinion ought not, and that by direction of the judge, on a whim that the words set forth

Hosted by Google

in the indictment were not the purport of the oath administered. Every one else were clear they were; and that whether they were or not, was the matter of fact to go to the jury. He said no; and the man was acquitted.

Yours, &c.,
J. BERESFORD.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Vienna, Saturday, April 14th, 1798.

My dear Brother,—The public here has been uniformly indisposed towards the French: the conduct of the ambassador*, of the young men of his suite, and of the servants, has kept alive this sentiment, and last night the flame burst out. A little before sunset he hoisted the *pavillon tricolor* on the balcony of the hotel; which being known, the people were seen assembling in small groups, and one of the chief commissaries of the police went to him and conjured him, in the most earnest manner, to order the flag to be taken down, observing that he would not be answerable for the consequences of a refusal. The ambassador refused with great haughtiness, putting his hand upon his sword, and saying that he would cleave the head of any person that should touch the flag. A small party of soldiers followed the commissary to protect the hotel; but they were not sufficiently numerous to repel the mob, who insisted, with bitter execrations, accompanied with *vivat the Cæsar*, on having the flag down. They soon proceeded to break the windows, and a boy being helped upon the balcony threw down the flag, which was torn into a thousand pieces, and the staff burnt. Soon after the doors were forced, and the things in the parlour, lodge, and kitchen demolished, and three pistols, loaded only with powder, were fired by the people of the hotel on those who were in the yard. These

* Bernadotte.

Hosted by Google

latter seized two carriages that were standing under the *porte-cochère*, and carried them off and broke them. The guard was by this time strengthened, and the officer availed himself of the absence of the mob, which had accompanied the carriages to a neighbouring square, and stationed his men so as to shut up all the avenues leading to the street where the ambassador lives, allowing no man to enter, but all to go out of the street. The guards are still in their stations, and crowds of people are buzzing about the town, but all is quiet. When the business began, the ambassador sent to M. de Thugut for protection, and soon after for a passport to leave the country.

At ten this morning, the first French secretary, on foot, attended by an Austrian corporal, went with a haughty mien, with a letter in his stretched-out hand for the Emperor, towards the palace. He proceeded without insult to the Court, when, the crowd pressing on him, the corporal begged him to go on to the guard-house, which he did, and an officer came down from the palace and took the letter. The ambassador sets out (as he gives out) this evening. This event may be attended with important consequences.

Excuse the hurry in which I write, and believe me to be ever

MORTON EDEN.

P.S. I enclose a translation of the proclamation just published.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Vienna, Monday April 16th, 1798.

My dear Brother, — In my letter of Saturday last, I informed you of the principal events of the preceding night, and will now state some further particulars and their immediate effect.

The imprudent and offensive demeanour of the ambassador and his suite was the principal cause of the

Hosted by Google

assault that was given to the house. He must have been aware of the indisposition of the people, but nevertheless hoisted the flag without the common precaution of apprising the Government of his intention; and when the crowd assembled he came to his door with a drawn sword, one of his secretaries appearing also on the balcony with a drawn sabre, and both making use of threats and the most virulent abuse. The mob of course became incensed, and told them that they were neither at Paris nor at Rome. It is now certain that the pistols were loaded with ball. Happily for the ambassador, the shot did not take effect; otherwise his death, and the death of all his suite, would have ensued. He wrote thrice during the night to Baron Thugut: the two first letters claimed protection; the latter was full of personal invective against the Baron, demanded the punishment of all those concerned in the business, and a passport. The answer was that every possible precaution was taken for his security, and that as to the rest he would take the Emperor's orders.

The letter to the Emperor was perfectly respectful towards his Imperial Majesty; but contained much abuse of the Minister of the Police and Commandant, and of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and asked a passport. The answer to it was written by Count Colloredo, the cabinet minister. It stated that the Emperor had given the most precise orders for the protection of the ambassador and his house; and, from the zeal and ability of the Minister of the Police and the Commandant, trusted that all that was possible had been done for that purpose; that due inquiry should be made, and, as to the passport, the Emperor exhorted him to weigh well the consequences before he took his final determination. In the evening two gentlemen were sent to him by the Emperor, but the conference came to nothing. The ambassador was very violent, and insisted on his passport. This was granted; and, with his whole suite, he set out yesterday at noon, with a proper

Hosted by Google

escort, for France. The escort was to attend him two stages, and a commissary as far as the frontier. No further mark of disrespect was shown him by the people, and the town is again quiet. He showed the ministers of the powers in alliance with France all the papers that he wrote and received on this occasion. His virulence against my friend Thugut is very great. To him (whom he accuses of a blind devotion to England), to the Russian ambassador and myself, he attributes the disturbance —in the old style of Pitt and Coburg—and he says that, as long as he* remains in place, no French minister can reside at Vienna. His aim—and he will be warmly supported by the Directory—is to have him removed; a compliance with their views would, I will venture to say, be fatal to the country, and they know it.

The hotel is being repaired by order of the Government. It was an adjutant of General Bernadotte, and not Godin, who carried the letter to court; when in the guard-room his nerves failed him, and he was happy to be conveyed home by a private way without *éclat.*

Adieu! we expect, with no little anxiety, the *dénouement* of the piece. In the mean time all parties agree in expressing satisfaction at the ambassador's departure, and in thinking that his views were to bring about a revolution. Once more, adieu!

MORTON EDEN.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Vienna, Wednesday, April 25th, 1798.

My dear Brother,—General Bernadotte's effects are this day selling by auction. My friend*, at the time that the riot broke out, speaking of his countrymen, said, not unhappily, "L'année passée ils ont voulu me pendre pour avoir la paix; maintenant ils veulent pendre l'ambassadeur pour avoir la guerre."

* M. Thugut.

Hosted by Google

We have nothing new from Italy. In Switzerland the little cantons hold out, and I am convinced that a very small foreign succour would suffice to enable the inhabitants of Switzerland to drive every Frenchman out of their country. Throughout Italy, likewise, the inhabitants are ready to rise and take vengeance on their oppressors.

Your obliged and affectionate brother,

M. EDEN.

Hosted by Google

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Irish Rebellion. — Information given to the Irish Government. — Arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.—Proclamation of Henry Shears.— Commencement of the Rebellion. — State of Affairs at Vienna. — Mr. Pitt's Duel. —Progress of the Insurrection.—Death of Lord Edward.

THERE will be found in the following correspondence* an accurate account of the state of affairs in Ireland during the great insurrection which broke out in May 1798. This rebellion, which had been so long foreseen by the experienced members of the Irish Government, would have been attended with more alarming consequences, if information had not been given which led to the arrest of the leaders of this great conspiracy, who certainly had good reason to believe that their bold attempt "to emancipate their country from the English yoke" would be successful.

The extraordinary conduct of Sir Ralph Abercromby, in proclaiming† that his army was "formidable to every one but the enemy," might well have excited the hopes of men even less enthusiastic than the 300,000 who were prepared to rise under the guidance of their daring chief, Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

But it appears that, although some of the superior officers seem to have had a very slight knowledge of their profession, the troops, although principally

* Very little correspondence has been published respecting the rebellion in May and June.

† Sir Ralph's proclamation was issued on the 26th of February. In that very month, Mr. Moore writes, that "by the returns made to Lord Edward, as head of the military committee, it appeared that the force regimented and armed, throughout Ireland, amounted to little less than 300,000 men."—*Moore's Life of Lord Edward*, vol. ii. p. 7.

Hosted by Google

Roman Catholics, acted with the utmost bravery against the insurgents, who, in several instances, fought with desperation.

In the memoir of Sir Ralph, recently published, it appears that Lord Auckland is charged with having raised the "outcry" against him by means of the letters he received from Ireland. Sir Ralph does not seem to have been aware that the chief members of the Irish Government were accustomed to write, confidentially, on all matters to Lord Auckland, and many of these letters were written in order that they should be communicated to Mr. Pitt, and they were not meant for Lord Auckland's information alone. The business of Ireland, of course, was nominally transacted through the Duke of Portland's office; but Lord Auckland's advice on Irish affairs was much valued by Mr. Pitt, and he was at the head of what Lord Cornwallis calls the "inferior cabinet" on Irish affairs.

It will be seen that the first design of the "Union" was confided by Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland alone, and it seems not to have been communicated to the rest of the Government for some time.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, May 7th, 1798.

My dear Auckland,—We have made most important discoveries, and taken up several persons of family and fortune, colonels and captains in the United regiments, and some have turned informers on whom we can rely; the persons are not yet come up, but will be examined to-morrow, when, if I have time, I will write again.

You did not send me your own pamphlet.

Yours ever affectionately, in haste,

J. Beresford.

P.S. We are now very likely to have full evidence against the heads of the United men.

Hosted by Google

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

(Private.) Dublin, May 9th, 1798.

My dear Auckland,—The people taken up did not arrive in town before 9 o'clock last night. We have had a long examination this day, from 11 o'clock until half-past 5: a full corroboration of all we knew before, with the names of several persons implicated that we did not suspect; but the difficulty is to obtain any man who has courage enough to stand fairly forward, so completely is terror established; however, I do not despair of getting witnesses.

It appears to me clearly that the small exertion of Government has had the best effect, so far as it has gone, and, so far as I can see, no man has withstood the fear of any corporal punishment; and certain I am, that without much outrage hundreds would peach. This disposition might easily, with temper and firmness, be made use of, so as very suddenly to get at some of the heads, and a very few of them being executed would change the face of things.

At present the quiet which appears in certain parts is deceptive: where the country is organised, quiet appears; where the organisation is going on, there is disturbance. It appears in Kildare that there are complete regiments. There are ten sergeants, each has two corporals and ten men under him; every captain has each ten sergeants under him, and every colonel ten captains; so each regiment consists of a thousand men, exclusive of officers and sergeants and corporals.

Much has come out; large quantities of arms are in their possession. Dublin is the great depôt; but there is no inclination to listen to an attempt to disarm them in Dublin, though strongly urged. All this is to yourself; but it is impossible to imagine that the principal people of the country will acquiesce in sitting still to have their throats cut; and if Government do not rouse and fully authorise exertion, they will be coerced. I hear all manner of people

Hosted by Google

speak, and this is the universal language of both Houses. The post going out.

Yours, &c.,
J. BERESFORD.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

(Most private.) Dublin, May 20th, 1798.

My dear Auckland,—We have been for some days in considerable anxiety, as we have had good information of an intended rising, for which good preparations were made by our Government. I believe the events of the two last evenings will at least postpone the execution of this design.

On Friday evening Major Sirr and Captain Ryan (the former deputy town-major, the latter a yeoman and printer of the "Dublin Journal") went, on an information, to take up some pikes in Watling Street, near Bloody Bridge; they had no army with them. They were attacked by nine* men, who rushed out of a house, armed with swords and short bludgeons. Sirr was knocked down directly, and three stabs through his clothes, one of which cut his skin for four inches. Ryan drew his sword and defended Sirr, until he got up and drew his, and a pistol, on which the nine bravoes ran for it. Two of them stood longer than the rest, then fled, one of whom Ryan seized. I saw him brought to the Castle yesterday morning; he is a well-looking gentleman, about twenty-six years of age; he is unknown, says he is a Glasgow man; but is, I am certain, a Northern Irishman†, probably from Belfast—he is committed to Newgate, of course.

This was prelude to last night; Sirr, Ryan, and Mr. Swan, a lieutenant in our revenue corps, went about half-past six last evening to Thomas Street, to the house of one Murphy, with a guard of soldiers, to

* Lord Edward's body-guard.

† This was M'Cabe, one of the chief leaders. Mr. Moore says he was released.

Hosted by Google

search for pikes, and upon a vague* idea that Lord Edward Fitzgerald had been there, or in the next house. When they came to Murphy's house, they were placing sentinels at the door, when Swan saw a female servant run upstairs as fast as she could; he pursued her up two pair of stairs. When he got up he saw Murphy at the door of a bed-chamber going in; he rushed in with him, and, going to the bed-side, he found Lord Edward in bed; he told him he was his prisoner. Lord Edward pulled out a pistol from under the clothes, and fired directly at Swan, but missed him. Swan's pistol, which was double-barrelled, was entangled in his handkerchief, so that he could not directly disengage it. Lord Edward then bounced up out of bed, with a large dagger in his hand, with his stockings and breeches on, and made three or four stabs at Swan, one of which ran down his arm for six inches. Swan caught hold of the weapon, which the other drew through his hand. In this struggle Swan was much cut in both hands. When Lord Edward got loose, Swan got his pistol free, and, when the other advanced, he fired both barrels at once at him, and wounded him in two places —the arm and the shoulder; he fell back, but bounced up again and attacked Swan, who seized him in his arms. The shot brought up Ryan first, who assisted in seizing Lord Edward, who by some means got a back-handed stroke at Ryan and ripped open his belly; by this time Sirr came in and fired at Lord Edward, by which he was near killing Swan, who was engaged with him. The soldiers then came up, and Lord Edward was mastered, brought to the Castle, and committed to Newgate.

Swan is stabbed in the side, with several other slight stabs, which signify nothing. The side stab is not, I am told, more in depth than two, or two inches and a half, and, the surgeons think, will not turn out

* It has never been known by whom Lord Edward was betrayed. According to this account — and there can be no higher authority — the arrest was accidental.

Hosted by Google

dangerous. Poor Ryan's bowels were put in, and the wound stitched up; he is very bad certainly, but the surgeons say that they have hopes that the bowels are not injured, and that he may recover; however, that is very doubtful.

My son John* and Sir George Hill† went to the house where the business happened, this morning, to see Ryan; he is very ill, but they confirm to me the opinion of the surgeons that he may recover, which I very much hope, as he is a very loyal stout fellow, and a very useful citizen, with a wife and family.

In going through the house, George Hill saw on a loft some sheepskins, and, out of curiosity, threw over a parcel of them, when he saw a bundle rolled up in linen. He asked what it was; a maid said "old clothes." They opened it, and found a complete suit of rebel uniform, just of the size for Lord Edward: it is dark green, with crimson cape and cuffs and silk lace. There were coat, waistcoat, breeches, and pantaloons, which he described to me, but which I cannot to you, and there was a cap of liberty, which he tells me was two feet long. Many papers, I hear, were found on Lord Edward, among others the plan of the march of the troops from Kildare into town, and a seal, which is a harp with a dagger suspended over it, the crown raised off from the harp by a female figure, who stands beside it, and dogs of war lying asleep under the harp; there are other parts of it which I did not get a description of.

Thus this young nobleman is likely very suddenly to end his career most ignominiously. I have little doubt that he was there ready to take the command of the rebels, who, I have no doubt, intended to rise within a few days, if not hours, but are probably put back by what has passed, and I am certain will be so for ever if Government now follow up the blow. On Monday last fifty-three magistrates, out of fifty-five who assembled, signed a requisition to Government to pro-

* John Claudius. † Mr. Beresford's son-in-law.

Hosted by Google

claim the county Dublin; and on Friday last the lord-mayor and twenty-two out of twenty-four aldermen did the same for the city; they are both proclaimed accordingly.

We have the ball at our feet, and if Government will allow us to disarm the city, which we can easily do now, and bring on the trials of Lord Edward, Oliver Bond, M'Cann, and those we have proofs against, the rebellion will be crushed; but there is a backwardness and timidity in certain people, which makes them dreadfully unwilling to venture upon any exertion, even in times like these; and certain I am, that, if even the exertions which have been latterly made had been made four months ago, all would have been suppressed long since. Every exertion has for a time run them down; but then, by not following up the business, their hopes revive again, they elect new delegates and directory, and so go on anew. Lord Edward was certainly the life and soul of them, and if he and his friend Mr. O'Connor pay the first forfeit of their lives, and that our witnesses stand firm, so as that we can hang Bond, M'Cann, and a few others, and banish by a bill of pains and penalties some other heads of the rebels, against whom we have full proof for such bill, we may hope for quiet.

As to the Papists I have strong hopes of a schism among them; the upper order and the clergy are terrified, and think that the concessions made to them will be withdrawn, and are labouring to get an address of loyalty to Government; if they do, although I would not depend upon them much, yet it will sow such mistrust among them as will give us great advantages. The person whom they have employed to draw their address is a friend of mine, and has given me this information privately: if they adopt the address he has drawn, it is very strong indeed; but all this is only in agitation, so say nothing of it. Exertion against the rebels will promote this address, by giving courage to the timid. Yours ever,

J. Beresford.

Hosted by Google

I forgot to say that there is reason to believe that the nine ruffians who attacked Ryan and Sirr, on Friday night, were a sort of picked guard to Lord Edward; they were not sixty yards from him, and are supposed to have imagined Sirr was going to look for Lord Edward.

(Most confidential.)

After I had written yesterday, I was summoned to the Castle, where we had a cabinet, and the evidence we have was considered; it is thought perfectly full against Lord Edward, Bond, M'Cann, and some others, and they are to be brought to trial as soon as may be.

We have also got a man to come forward against the Northern rebels, and I think we are in a good way of cutting them all up.

We have positive evidence, from three different quarters, that it was the intention to rise on to-morrow, and the reason given from each quarter was the same, viz. that now Government were taking such vigorous measures, they must either rise or give up the game.

I send you enclosed an impression of the seal. Ireland has taken the crown off the harp, and is cutting the strings; two wolf-dogs lying asleep, and a dagger falling down, I suppose, from heaven.

Monday, 21st.

Just sent for to the Castle. Swan is better; Ryan very ill, but still alive.

I am just told the seal is the same that was found upon Quigley.*

Mr. Cooke to Lord Auckland.

(Secret.) Dublin, May 20th, 1798.

My dear Lord, — I had not time for a line last night. Lord Edward's capture is of much conse-

* The Rev. James O'Coigley, or Quigley, was hanged in England, June 7th, 1798.

Hosted by Google

quence; he was lurking to head an insurrection. He behaved desperately. Swan* gave him warning on entering his room, and told him he would use him according to his rank; when he approached the bed, Lord Edward darted on him with a dagger, but with the first blow struck his clothes only. Swan and he scuffled: Swan seized the blade of the dagger, but it was so sharp he could not hold it. As he quitted the hold, Lord Edward stabbed him desperately in the side. Swan shot at him, and he called for assistance: Mr. Ryan came in. Seeing Lord Edward with his dagger, he snapped a pocket-pistol at him, which missed him; he then ran upon Lord Edward, who stabbed him, and in a struggle wounded him in nine places. Major Sirr at this moment ran upstairs — saw Lord Edward with a dagger uplifted, on which he fired his pistol, shot him in the right arm, his dagger dropped, and he surrendered.

Lord Edward is not dangerously wounded, but is in great pain; Ryan not likely to recover; Swan will recover.

This is a great blow to the rebels. Warrants are just gone to seize the Shears, two councillors, and Lawless, a surgeon, for endeavouring to seduce an officer to conspire with them in bringing over the King's County Regiment, and joining in an attack on the city this week.

Vigorous measures will take place. All is safe. Kildare is surrendering, so is Wicklow. Arms giving up, and confessions making of captains, committees, &c.

I hope you will think well of our state in a few days.

Most truly your Lordship's servant,

E. Cooke.

The following is a copy of the Proclamation intended to be issued if the rising in Dublin had been

* It is stated in Moore's Life of Lord Edward, that Swan fired on him immediately.

Hosted by Google

successful. It was written by John Shears. Mr. Beresford sent Lord Auckland a facsimile of this paper.

Proclamation found among the papers of the elder Shears.*

Irishmen,—Your country is free, and you are about to be avenged. That vile Government which has so long and so cruelly oppressed you, is no more. Some of its most atrocious monsters have already paid the forfeit of their lives, and the rest are in our hands. The national flag, the sacred green, is at this moment flying over the ruins of despotism, and that capital, which a few hours past witnessed the debauchery, the plots and crimes of your tyrants, is now the citadel of triumphant patriotism and virtue. Arise, then, united sons of Ireland: arise, like a great and powerful people, determined to live free or die. Arm yourselves by every means in your power, and rush like lions on your foes. Consider that for every enemy you disarm you arm a friend, and thus become doubly powerful. In the cause of liberty inaction is cowardice, and the coward shall forfeit the property he has not the courage to protect; let his arms be seized and transferred to those gallant spirits who want and will use them. Yes, Irishmen, we swear by that eternal justice in whose cause you fight, that the brave patriot who survives the present glorious struggle, and the family of him who has fallen or shall fall hereafter in it, shall receive from the hands of a grateful nation an ample recompense out of that property which the crimes of our enemies have forfeited into its hands, and his name shall be inscribed on the great national record of Irish revolution as a glorious example to all posterity; but we likewise swear to punish robbery with death and infamy.

We also swear that we will never sheath the sword until every being in the country is restored to those

* Henry.

Hosted by Google

equal rights which the God of nature has given to all men, — until an order of things shall be established, in which no superiority shall be acknowledged among the citizens of Erin but that of virtue and talent. Rouse all the energies of your souls, call forth all the merit and abilities which a vicious Government consigned to obscurity, and, under the conduct of your chosen leaders, march with a steady step to victory. Heed not the glare of a hired soldiery, or aristocratic yeomanry; they cannot stand the vigorous shock of freemen. Their trappings and their arms will soon be yours; and the detested Government of England, to which we vow eternal hatred, shall learn that the treasures it exhausts on its accoutred slaves, for the purpose of butchering Irishmen, shall but further enable us to turn their swords on its devoted head.

Attack them in every direction by day and by night. Avail yourselves of the natural advantages of your country, which are innumerable, and with which you are better acquainted than they. Where you cannot oppose them in full force, constantly harass their rear and their flanks; cut off their provisions and magazines, and prevent them as much as possible from uniting their forces. Let whatever moments you cannot devote to fighting for your country be passed in learning how to fight for it, or preparing the means of war; for war, war alone, must occupy every mind and every hand in Ireland, until its long oppressed soil be purged of all its enemies.

Vengeance, Irishmen! vengeance on your oppressors! Remember what thousands of your dearest friends have perished by their merciless orders. Remember their burnings, their rackings, their torturings, their military massacres, and their legal murders. Remember Orr!

Hosted by Google

Mr. Cooke to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, May 21st, 1798.

My dear Lord,—We took up the two Shears to-day with damning papers; found many pikes and variety of revolutionary papers in a timber-merchant's in Thomas Street, who had fled. On account of his pikes his furniture was burnt before his door.

A rising is not given up, but I think it will not take place. Parts of Kildare, Naas and Maynooth, will not yet give up arms.

The design of immediate insurrection is notified to-night to the lord-mayor, will be notified to Parliament to-morrow, and a search for arms will commence.

We are in good spirits. I send you some favourite productions. Most truly your Lordship's servant,

E. Cooke.

P.S. Lord Edward will not die of his wounds; Ryan there are hopes of; Swan will do well.

Lord Clare to Lord Auckland.

(Private.) Dublin, May 21st, 1798.

My dear Lord, — We have done much towards disconcerting the Irish rebels in the last fortnight. A man who had given us private information, on the express condition of never being desired to come forward publicly, was betrayed by some of his subalterns in the county of Kildare, and arrested in consequence by General Dundas, who commands in that district, without communication with Government, and sent up to Dublin in custody. In this dilemma the gentleman's scruples have vanished, and he will, I think, enable us to bring many of the leading traitors to justice, and at their head Lord Edward Fitzgerald. This reprobate was arrested on Saturday, after a severe struggle, in which he was wounded from a pistol-shot in the arm, after having wounded two of

Hosted by Google

the constables who were employed to arrest him, most desperately; none of the parties, however, are hurt mortally, and I think Lord Edward bids fair to make his exit on the scaffold.

His arrest determined the rest of the gang to make a desperate effort on this night or to-morrow; of which also we had full information, and two very leading members were taken up this morning, against whom we have the fullest evidence. They are brothers of the name of Shears*, and worthy members of my profession. In the desk of one of them was found a manifesto ready drawn, penned in the genuine style of Marat and Robespierre, to be issued by the new Government on its establishment.

We have been obliged to proclaim the city of Dublin under the Insurrection Act, and shall proceed early to-morrow to a general search for arms. More than two thousand pikes have been already seized in this town, and, I have no doubt, there are considerably more than ten thousand still concealed in the city and its environs. Scarcely a day passes without a discovery of pikes, either finished or in a state of manufacture.

The county of Kildare is nearly disarmed, and in that district alone more than four thousand pikes, and fifteen hundred stand of firearms, have been already seized. Their plan was to attack the park of artillery at Chapelizod, the magazine in the Phœnix Park, a small camp at Laughlinstown, about seven miles from town on the Wicklow road, and the Castle of Dublin at the same time, and by way of diversion to have detached small chosen parties to the houses of obnoxious individuals, with orders to murder them, and at the head of this proscribed list I had the honour to stand.

I think we have now a fair prospect of crushing this rebellion. Its nature and extent have been so completely developed that no man will now venture

* They were betrayed by Captain Armstrong.

Hosted by Google

to condemn the necessary acts of vigour which have been, and will, I trust, continue to be, exerted for its suppression. To-morrow a special commission will issue for the trial of the principal traitors; but although we have not the misfortune to be hampered by the laws passed in England at the Revolution for the encouragement of treason, it will not, I fear, be possible to bring them to trial much sooner than a month hence. I have a lively hope that by this time Messrs. O'Connor* and Co. have been disposed of according to their deserts.

If anything can open the eyes of that perverse and sulky mule Abercromby to his misdeeds, what has passed since his departure from hence ought to induce him to bury himself in obscurity in the Highlands. Surely he will not be employed in England. Many thanks to you for Mr. Stone's correspondence with Doctor Priestly. I have sent the pamphlet to Lees.

Yours always truly, my dear Lord,

CLARE.

Sir Morton Eden to Lord Auckland.

Vienna, Wednesday noon, May 23rd, 1798.

My dear Brother,— I most heartily rejoice to hear that all is well in public and in private, and that the state of Ireland is improving. I am sorry that in return for this satisfactory intelligence I cannot confirm your hopes relative to the continental powers. The same unwise and selfish system continues to actuate them all. The Emperor of Russia †, indeed, promises us a squadron, and has sent Prince Repnin to Berlin; but I have room to believe that the Prince cannot conclude anything that may have a bare tendency to the drawing his sovereign into hostilities against the enemy, without reference home, and this must take up half the summer, as his Imperial Ma-

* Arthur O'Connor, who was tried at Maidstone, and acquitted.
† Paul.

Hosted by Google

jesty is gone to Kasan. His dread of the war is great beyond conception, and he will be powerfully seconded by his negotiator, who, I have reason to believe, declared to Sir C. Whitworth, on his setting out from Petersburg, that the power of France was irresistible. That Prussia is averse to the business is evident, as it sent to Petersburg to stop Prince Repnin's mission, for fear of giving offence to France; and though its ministers at Rastadt have been repeatedly insulted by the Jacobin plenipotentiaries, they continue to cringe and to lick the hand that strikes them. Your Leopoldine * friend is amongst the foremost, and I cannot believe that he seriously expected that that system was likely to be revived. The jealousies on both sides are insurmountable; and it is but lost time to attempt to reason them into a wiser conduct.

I have of late had occasion frequently to see M. de Thugut, and, with my friend the Russian ambassador, have endeavoured to prevail upon him to make it worth Prussia's while to desert the Jacobin cause, and to stand forward in defence of its own real and permanent interests and of those of Europe. His opinion is that nothing good can be done at Berlin whilst M. de Haugwitz remains in place, so greatly is he hampered by his connection with France (and think me not blinded by Austrian prejudice if to you I subscribe to this opinion — to him I have never done it); but he assures me that Prince Reuss has instructions and powers to consent, under the mediation and guarantee of Russia, to any acquisition for Prussia, as the price of its active operations against France, or even of its undertaking to confine the French within the limit of the Rhine. This would leave Austria free on the sides of Switzerland and of Lombardy, and in that case his Imperial Majesty would not, I think, longer hesitate to resume hostilities; otherwise the choice of time and place will be left to the enemy.

* Haugwitz.

Hosted by Google

Of the impolicy of this, of the certainty of its happening, and of the inevitable consequences, M. de Thugut acknowledges himself to be aware; but he says that the Emperor cannot draw upon himself the whole force of France, unless his dominions on the side of his empire be covered.

M. de Steiger and other leading characters amongst the Swiss are expected here, where it is their intention to remain concealed. They are now on the frontiers of their country, in order to learn the true state of affairs there. I have mentioned this in my despatches of this day, and requested instructions for my conduct towards them. Has the Berne Government really any money in our funds, and if so, would it be possible for us to have sufficient security for advancing from it the sum of 60,000*l.* to its expelled members? I fear it to be impracticable, and have ventured to express that opinion here.

(Secret.)

If our fleet come to the Mediterranean immediately, Naples may be saved, as a treaty of defensive alliance and mutual guarantee was, on Sunday last, signed here by Baron Thugut and the Neapolitan ministers. The stipulated succours are 60,000 men on the part of this Government, and 40,000 on that of Naples.

In my last I mentioned Count Cobenzel's departure for Rastadt to meet General Bonaparte, in consequence of the latter's express invitation. You will, ere this reach you, know that the general does not come. If Cobenzel has not as strong a stomach as another negotiator*, he must feel deeply mortified. Bonaparte's going to Toulon alarms us, as it would appear from thence that all was ripe for his expedition. If it be against Egypt, he and his followers may mostly perish from the climate, and their object of a permanent settlement, and re-establishing the old route to India, be defeated; but the wealth that will be procured at Cairo will probably exceed all

* Lord Malmesbury.

Hosted by Google

that has been obtained in Italy. If the expedition be against Sicily, Malta, and Sardinia, its success is inevitable, and the consequences may be disastrous. Letters, however, by yesterday's post from Genoa, give us hopes that the expedition is suspended. If the information be exact, the delay must proceed from apprehensions of the force collecting by the Emperor in Italy and Switzerland.

I much fear that the Duke of Wurtemburg is running headlong to revolution and destruction.

I see that Prince Frederick of Orange is arrived at Cuxhaven on his way hither. The Emperor and his minister continue to speak of him with great affection, and the latter has assured me that his Imperial Majesty purposes appointing him to a distinguished command.

I am in hourly expectation of the arrival of Prince Augustus *, who, I understand, is likely to make a considerable stay here. From all I have heard of him, I cannot but be sorry for it; but my duty and love for his royal father will make me bear much, and cheerfully and zealously endeavour to be of use to his son. Unhappily, Vienna is now quite empty, and my task will be very heavy.

In the midst of the calamities of the times I am ashamed to talk of the luxuries of life; but I cannot withstand the instances of some of the great people here to endeavour to procure for them a cask of the best white Cape. If on this point you could be of use to me, either now or some time hence, you will greatly oblige me. It should be sent hither in bottles.

Adieu. My most affectionate wishes to all your family. Believe me to be ever, with great and unfeigned attachment, your obliged and affectionate brother,

M. Eden.

* The Duke of Sussex.

Hosted by Google

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

Dublin, May 24th, 1798.

My dear Auckland,—The war * is commenced. According to our information the rebels broke forth last night in force. There have been several battles in different parts of the country. The people about Rathfarnam came down in number about 500, with guns and pikes; they were opposed by the Rathfarnam yeomanry; but the insurgents evaded them, attacked the house of a Mr. Proctor, who defended himself as long as he was able, but they got in and murdered him. In the mean time an account arrived of their rising. Lord Roden † volunteered, with a party of the Royal Irish Dragoons, and met them in their retreat; a battle ensued: none of the army were hurt. Roden alone was in danger, having been shot in the helmet, but not hurt. Two dead bodies I saw cut to pieces—I never saw such a sight; a third, desperately wounded, is in custody, and son to a man of property. We now know the captain of the rebels was a yeoman, of the very corps opposed to them.

At Dunboyne the rebels were victorious. They attacked the escort of the Reay Fencibles, which unfortunately consisted of a corporal and four privates; they have killed the former and two of the latter, and taken away all their baggage; the other two are ill wounded. They then seized the police, five in number, three Protestants, two Papists; they murdered the former, but let the latter go.

At Naas they came down in force, and attacked the King's forces, the Armagh militia, the Ancient Britons, and part of a dragoon regiment. They three times returned to the charge at the gaol, but were repulsed. About forty-six of them were killed, when they fled in every direction, and were cut to pieces by

* At this time there was a very small English force in Ireland. The war was almost entirely between the Irish militia and the rebels.

† Father of the present Lord Roden.

Hosted by Google

the horse. About 140 lie on the ground; how many more are killed we know not. This happened at two o'clock at night; at nine morning they came down again in force. I hear General Dundas went out to meet them, with two pieces of cannon, and killed about 800 of them, and the horse were in pursuit. This last article I have by report, not by reading the despatches.

At Prosperous* they cut off a company of the Cork militia, murdered every man but six who escaped, and burned the barracks; at Clain they cut off the party — the particulars I have not.

Martial law is proclaimed; we shall lose many lives, but will conquer. I have now no fear for the State; what may happen to either myself or friends I know not. I have lost my friend Clonmell. Sad, sad times; but we are now fairly pitted, and must fight as we ought.

It is near eleven, post shut up; this gets in by money; and my hurry has made me write unintelligibly.

Yours ever,
J. Beresford.

P.S. Seven of Ancient Britons were killed, nine Armagh men, and some dragoons, in all about twenty, besides those at Prosperous and Clain.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

May 25th, 1798.

My dear Auckland,—There have been several small engagements since my last, and one considerable one at Kilcullen. General Dundas attacked a body on the green of Kilcullen, and killed many; he did not wait, as I hear, for the infantry, but charged with the horse, of whom they killed twelve, and Dundas was obliged to retire. He came with the infantry reinforced, and cut them all to pieces, without the loss of a man on his part.

* In Kildare.

Hosted by Google

The rebels are in force about 5000 at Dunboyne; they have been there two days, encamped. General Craig is gone with a strong party and cannon, &c., to surround them and destroy them.

Two men of Lord Ely's yeomanry are just condemned by a court-martial, and are carrying away to be hanged. In very great haste,

J. BERESFORD.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

May 26th, 1798.

My dear Auckland,—We have accounts this day of four battles of yesterday, in which great numbers have been killed of these infatuated wretches, and none of the King's troops. I send you three bulletins I have picked up.

Two of the yeomen of Lord Ely's corps, of whom I informed you, were hanged upon the Queen's Bridge about an hour ago, being condemned by a court-martial — one of them the finest fellow I ever saw; he fought against the 9th Dragoons, and was taken in the action: he changed horses with a brother yeoman that night, that he might not be known by his horse.

The great body of 5000 at Dunboyne retreated, having a picket guard of thirty-five, who were all cut down. No prisoner taken. We have heard of more than 2000 already killed; and have no accounts from Munster. All the mails intercepted. The North remains quiet as yet.

I hope that the people begin to be sensible of their madness, and I hope they will cease from their violence.

I just find this moment that a third person was convicted since the other two were hanged, and carried out and hanged in the same place.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

Hosted by Google

P.S. This instant I have received an account that Dundas has come up with the main body of the rebels on the Curragh (that is, of the Kildare rebels), and has cut down several hundreds of them. They threw down their arms and begged for mercy, which he has refused unless they give up their officers, present and absent.

Mr. Pitt to Lord Auckland.

Downing Street, Monday, 6 P.M.*

My dear Lord,—A thousand thanks for your kind note.† I am here for a few hours, but mean to go to Wimbledon at nine. If you are without any early engagement, you will find me quite at leisure any time till eleven.

Ever affectionately yours,
W. PITT.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

(Private.) Dublin, May 28th, 1789.

My dear Auckland,—We still continue in a very alarming state. On the approach of General Craig towards Dunboyne, the rebels fled to Tara Hill, where they were attacked, as you will see by the enclosed of the 27th; by that of the 28th you will see the news of the day—that is, the good news.

The bad is, that the rebels are collected in force in the county of Wexford, where they were attacked by the colonel of the North Cork militia, with a hundred men. The rebels were at first routed, and many killed; but at length overpowered the party, and killed every man of them, except the colonel, one sergeant, and one private, who escaped. This news is not known publicly, nor can I vouch the truth of it, as I had it from a noble lord of that county, addicted

* One day after his duel.

† Of congratulation on Mr. Pitt's escape in his duel with Mr. Tierney, which took place on Sunday, the 27th of May.

Hosted by Google

to the marvellous; but I fear there is some truth in it. Among others said to be killed is the major, Captain de Courcy, Lord Kinsale's brother, and five subalterns.

There are two camps of the rebels near Kilcullen, consisting of about 3000 men, who sent messages to General Dundas, offering to surrender, but conceived in terms of such impudence, that it is surprising General Dundas could condescend to transmit their offer to Government, who instantly rejected it. They then offered to surrender unconditionally; they were informed they would be accepted, provided officers and all submitted; and Lake himself went down. When he came, he found that Dundas had agreed to a truce until twelve o'clock this day. The consequence was, that it appeared clearly to Lake that they had made a fool of Dundas (which, indeed, was ready done to their hand); he therefore rejected their offer, and was waiting for the truce to expire, that he might attack them. Dundas has erred, and is very much blamed; he has 2500 men, picked troops, and has suffered these dogs to keep full possession of the country for three or four days: they are in great want of everything, and will be starved. We wait with impatience for news.

All communication is cut off with Munster, so that we know nothing of what is doing there.

Great indecision exists on one hand, and very strong ideas of violence on the other; a mixture would be better. I have got all the people about me to give up their arms and submit, and to engage to be loyal for the future, which they acknowledge they were not.

Terrible times. We expect troops from Liverpool every tide.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

Hosted by Google

Mr. Cooke to Lord Auckland.

Dublin Castle, May 29th, 1798.

My dear Lord, — Three thousand laid down their arms yesterday to General Dundas. This morning an engagement at Rathangan; some dragoons killed, but the rebels routed with the loss of seventy.

This day Sir J. Duff* arrived in the Curragh, from Limerick, with a flying corps, and offered mercy on submission; but, his soldiers being fired on, an engagement commenced, and the rebels lost four hundred.

Sir J. Duff's arrival is of the utmost consequence: it has opened the communication with Cork and Limerick, brings accounts that those counties are all quiet, secures a river, makes a new point to act from; and as the rebels have been disarmed in Meath, and they are reduced to Wicklow and Wexford, I think a few days of spirited action may close the campaign.

The people are submitting in the vicinity of Dublin; the city is kept in check and terror by a very formidable and active body of four thousand yeomanry exclusive of garrison.

The North is yet quiet.

Yours most truly,

E. Cooke.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

(Private and confidential.) May 30th, 1798.

My dear Auckland,— You will see by the enclosed the news of the day. It is strange that Sir James Duff should march upwards of sixty miles, with between five and six hundred men, and completely defeat the rebels of Kildare, while General Dundas lay within six or eight miles of them, with near three thousand men, and suffered them to beard him for eight days.

It is impossible for me to state to you, in adequate terms, the rage which now prevails against Dundas†,

* Colonel of the 50th Regiment. † General Ralph Dundas.

Hosted by Google

and through him against Government. The most wanton murders are being committed, and the town swarms with rebels: on the one hand, the cry is for instant trial and execution, and on the other no steps are taken. Very high words have passed at the cabinet yesterday, at which I was not present; and I very much dread what may pass in Parliament to-morrow. Every man I meet is full of passion and resentment: they want actually to hang every person taken, some even without trial; while Government certainly move very slow, and show the greatest reluctance in punishing any man. I protest I think I am the only moderate person of your acquaintance; and I confess I could wish that a few of the egregious villains were tried and executed. There are proofs enough against several, of acts done since the proclaiming of martial law: some of these ought to be tried, I think; the public will not be satisfied without it. Within this half-hour no less than nine men have been seized, for marking houses, doubtless for bad purposes, also several spies,—these are also fit objects for speedy punishment. Government will be pressed in Parliament—it is very bad for the latter to attempt to direct the executive — but I see the Speaker* and the House have it in contemplation to take some step that shall rouse Government to more exertion. And, at any rate, I imagine that such bad blood will arise between Lord Camden and certain people here, that he will not be able to remain in this country.

I shall endeavour to conduct myself as coolly as I can; but I vow to God I cannot prevail upon any, even of my near connections, to be moderately cool; certainly the lives and properties of loyal subjects are in jeopardy, and of course they are agitated, and the business of Dundas has been unfortunately conducted, which has given occasion to much warmth. The rebels sent a very insolent proposal, "that they had deep grievances which they were well able to redress,

* Mr. Foster.

Hosted by Google

but that they could forgive and forget, and that, if Lord Edward Fitzgerald and their other friends were set at liberty, they would lay down their arms," &c. Dundas transmitted this proposal to Government. Lord Camden directly rejected it, but without calling his cabinet. This happened on Saturday. He sent down Colonel Walpole to declare this rejection verbally. Walpole with Dundas holds a conference with the delegates of the rebels; and at five on Sunday, P.M., the cabinet is called, this story told, and a paper produced, purporting to be an unconditional submission; and the question was, should such be admitted? In the discussion it appeared that this was a paper written by Walpole, and signed by two delegates of low degree—a carpenter and some other equally low—and it was doubted if the rebels were at all bound to these propositions. General Lake was then sent down, with discretionary powers. When he arrived, he found Dundas had concluded a truce until 12 o'clock yesterday, and had otherwise so involved matters, that he was obliged to acquiesce in his treaty. The rebels were allowed to disperse, giving in just such arms as they chose; and it is known that some have gone home, some to join the rebels in force in County Wicklow. I saw a captain of yeomen this day, who lives by Lord Waterford's, who with two troops reconnoitred that part of the county, who met two of these fellows going from the Kildare camp to Wicklow camp, with guns in their hands, which he took from them. They declared that they did belong to the Dublin side, who had not acquiesced in the treaty, and were joining the Wicklow men in the mountains. The Kildare people were said to wish to come in under similar terms; but the business was not concluded, and Duff, knowing nothing of it, attacked them from sixty miles' distance, and defeated them, Dundas lying with six times his numbers within seven miles of them, as before stated.

Just sent for to cabinet. Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

Hosted by Google

The Archbishop of Cashel to Lord Auckland.*

Stephen's Green, May 31st, 1798.

My dear Lord,—Accept my sincere thanks for your account of Mr. Pitt's escape, on which I do, as every friend to the British empire ought, congratulate my country.

Nothing very material has arrived this day. The rebels were assembled in great numbers on Blackmore Hill, near Blessington, in the county of Wicklow, and Sir James Duff marched there with sufficient force to attack them yesterday. They unfortunately were apprised of his approach, and retired to the mountains, leaving their pots boiling, and the provision ready for our troops. This happened yesterday. I believe I told you in my last letter that the rebels have burnt a considerable part of the town of Blessington, and Lord Downshire's house near it. The rebels are particularly cruel in the county of Wexford. They have committed many wanton and unprovoked murders. Enclosed I send to you a few bulletins. Pray read Faulkener's journal constantly, as that gives you a tolerably exact account of our proceedings.

Do me the honour to present my best wishes to Lady Auckland and all your family.

Lord Henry Fitzgerald arrived here this day. He will not be permitted to see Lord Edward.

Yours, my dear Lord, most sincerely,

CHARLES CASHEL.

P.S. I am glad to find you are sending us some regiments; we certainly want them. Nevertheless it is right to say that all our denominations of soldiers — regulars, militia, and yeomen — have behaved extremely well.

* Charles Agar, created Lord Normanton in 1795.

Hosted by Google

Lord Clare to Lord Auckland.

(Private.) Dublin, Wednesday.

My dear Lord,—We have now been at issue with the rebels, in the county of Kildare, for more than ten days, and I am sorry to say they are not as yet subdued. General Ralph Dundas commands in that district, and his conduct seems to be inexplicable. On Thursday last they attacked him at Kilcullen Bridge, where he routed them completely, without the loss of a man; he retreated immediately six miles, to Naas, and suffered the rebels to take possession of the town of Kildare and of Kilcullen, where they broke down the bridge over the Liffey, and thus cut off all communication between the province of Munster and Dublin. On Saturday last a deputation from the principal rebel camp, consisting of 3000 men, waited on Mr. Dundas, at Naas, with a proposition in writing. I have not seen it, but the import was, "that the rebels had taken up arms for the redress of their wrongs, to which they were fully competent; however, that they were willing to forgive and forget what had passed, and to lay down their arms, on condition of indemnity to them and their friends, but especially on condition that Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and their other leaders, who are now in custody, were immediately set at liberty." You will scarcely credit me in stating that Mr. Dundas, at the head of 1500 men, who were with difficulty kept back by their officers, and with a sufficient train of artillery, sent up this defiance to Lord Camden, with a recommendation to yield to it. Lord Camden immediately sent an aide-de-camp to him with orders not to accept of any terms short of unconditional submission by the rebels, and the surrender of their leaders to be punished as they deserve. The aide-de-camp, Colonel Walpole*, opened a new negotiation with the rebels, and came up to town on Sunday with the result, for the

* Grandson of the first Lord Walpole of Wolterton.

Hosted by Google

approbation of Lord Camden; and, on the evening of Sunday, General Lake went down to Naas with instructions to attack the rebel camp immediately, unless they surrendered at discretion. But, on his arrival at Naas, he found that Mr. Dundas had agreed to an armistice, and had solemnly engaged not to march against the rebels till 2 o'clock the next day (Monday). Lake, I think very prudently, did not on his part violate this engagement; and at 2 o'clock on Monday, Mr. Dundas proceeded to the rebel camp unattended, where, I am informed, he rode through their ranks uncovered, suffered them to lay down their arms, and to depart in peace, without even taking down their names. They went through the farce, however, of giving up seven ragamuffins to him, whom they called their leaders, to whom, it is said, he has made a secret promise of pardon. You may suppose that, during this negotiation, their real leaders took care to decamp with such of their followers who meant to fight the battle out; and I have seen a gentleman this day who met two of them marching off quietly to another rebel post, on Monday evening, with their arms.

Mr. Dundas, having thus succeeded so well at Kilcullen, proceeded to open a similar negotiation with the rebel camp at Kildare, which was unfortunately interrupted by Sir James Duff, who commands in the district of Limerick. This gentleman, finding his communication with Dublin cut off, made a forced march from Limerick to Kildare (seventy Irish miles) in forty-eight hours, and, finding the rebels in force on the Curragh, ordered them to surrender. They fired on his picket, on which he attacked them, and killed considerably more than three hundred of them. They have entirely laid waste the country of which they were suffered to keep possession, and murdered every gentleman whom they were enabled to come up with. In the village of Rathangan, near Kildare, and in other places, they have murdered every Protestant inhabitant. Yesterday they burned the town of

Hosted by Google

Blessington and every gentleman's house near it, amongst others Lord Downshire's, and are now assembled in considerable force on the hills above Blessington, where Mr. Dundas professes his intention to attack them to-morrow morning. In the county of Meath 7000 of these devils were attacked on Saturday by three companies of Highlanders and some yeomen, with one piece of artillery, and routed with the loss of nearly 1000 in killed and wounded. In the county of Wexford they have risen in great numbers, and committed many outrages; and in that district some gentlemen of considerable fortune have been taken up, on information against them, for joining in this treason; amongst others a Mr. Hay, who was a great pet and favourite of the late Mr. Edmund Burke. In this town, with the best disposition to insurrection, they are so well watched by General Lake that they cannot stir.

The accounts which we have from the North * are very favourable. The republicans there seem at length to have discovered that it is a Popish game in the rest of the kingdom, to which they never meant seriously to lend their assistance. They are a little disgusted also with the late propositions† from the Directory to the American ambassadors. In Munster and Connaught everything remains perfectly quiet. I wish it were possible to send but a few English troops from Lancashire or Cheshire. Although I have no fear of our rebels unless the French should appear, it is of most essential consequence to put down this insurrection at once.

What have we to answer for in looking on whilst this whole country has been revolutionised? I could never see any wisdom or good policy in prancing upon candour in the face of rebels; and I can't but wish that your Attorney-General‡, as well as ours §,

* If the North had risen on the 23rd, it would have gone hard with the Government.

† Demanding bribes.

‡ Sir John Scott.

§ Mr. Wolfe, afterwards Lord Kilwarden.

Hosted by Google

was less fond of mounting this jaded pony. What business had he to set aside some of his best jurymen because Mr. Young* chose to write a foolish rhapsody to one of them? Pray, what could have influenced Buller† in his charge?

Yours always truly, my dear Lord,
CLARE.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

May 31st, 1798.

My dear Auckland, — Last night a strong force marched against the insurgents assembled at Blackmore Hill, in the mountains of Wicklow. They surprised their vedettes and stormed their camp, but the fellows fled directly into the mountains and bogs, leaving a good deal of their weapons, and above sixty pots on the fires, with beef and mutton belonging to their neighbours.

We have dreadful accounts from the county of Wexford. They have got possession of Enniscorthy, where they murdered every Protestant. They have burned every gentleman's house on the river Slaney, and murdered all the clergy and Protestants, and have burned the churches. I have heard of four or five families of my own acquaintance who have been murdered. Bad and shocking as this is, it has its horrid use; for now there is a flying off of many Protestant men who were united, and the North consider it as a religious war, and, by many letters this day, have resolved to be loyal. However, we have reason to suspect that some people may rise in the mountains above the ——‡; but I should think they would be very soon overpowered, if our accounts be well founded.

I wrote to you that sixteen transports were come in, the day before yesterday; in this I was misinformed.

* Mr. Young, a Kentish clergyman, wrote a letter to some of the jury, recommending them to convict the prisoners.

† Justice Buller, who presided at the trial of Arthur O'Connor.

‡ Illegible.

Hosted by Google

In consequence of my neighbours coming in and giving me up their arms, I hear this day they are following the example more to the northward, about Balbriggan, Skerries, &c.

I am just going down to the House; great heat still existing. We have taken much pains to obtain quiet, and have some hopes of it. We are to adjourn over until Monday.

Poor Captain Ryan is dead of the wounds he received from Lord Edward. There were two men more hanged this day by sentence of a court-martial.

Lord Henry Fitzgerald arrived this day. I hope he may not get into a scrape.

We have had a very absurd and disagreeable debate—a motion of thanks to Sir James Duff; a question of adjournment, moved and opposed on the ground of moving for Government's orders to General Dundas; adjournment carried, 90 to 10.

Yours ever,

J. BERESFORD.

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

June 1st, 1798.

My dear Auckland,—In consequence of our debate yesterday, in which the arguments were taken from the Castle bulletin, Government do not seem to be willing to publish any more. None came out this day; but I received a note to acquaint me that if I came up to the Castle every day at twelve, I should be informed of the news of the day.

I think this very silly, for why should the public be kept in suspense because a wrong-headed man made an improper use of former information?

The news of the day is bad: I transcribe the note.

"Lord Castlereagh's * compliments to Mr. B. Accounts have arrived this morning from Major-General Eustace and Lord Bective. It appears the

* Lord Castlereagh was now acting as Secretary in Ireland, during the absence of Mr. Pelham.

Hosted by Google

rebels have taken possession of Wexford, and it is feared a company of the Meath regiment and a howitzer have fallen into their hands.—Dublin Castle, Friday noon."

The cruel murders which this Wexford army has committed upon every Protestant that they could lay hands on, either at Enniscorthy or along the banks of the Slaney, make me shudder at the idea of their having got possession of so large a town as Wexford; but, in other respects, as it strikes me, they could not have done a more imprudent act than attempting to go there, for Wexford lies up in a nook; the bay and river Slaney is on one side, the other open; the troops from Waterford and Duncannon Fort can attack them from the open side, and from Ross also; and they cannot retreat on the other, because the troops marching from Wicklow, Carlow, and the camp near this town, under General Loftus, will shut them up on that side, so that they are between two fires; and should they retreat south or east, they must be stopped by the sea.

I have just received yours of the 28th. We had the packet of that date yesterday with the account of Mr. Pitt's duel, which, I rejoice, has ended as it has. I saw a letter from him to Lord Camden on the subject, in which he refers him for the true account to the "Sun." You see, the most peaceably disposed men cannot get through life without these disagreeable trials.

Give me leave to give you a hint. Be cautious what news you write to some of your correspondents here, for you are quoted at times as the author of news. When this happens, be assured it never comes from me; for, as I detest being quoted myself, I never quote any one.

It is impossible for you to conceive how very universal and extensive this plot has been; how very bloody and wicked and wonderfully organised the people are. We get information so fast and against so many people, that we cannot take up one half—no, not one twentieth—of the people accused. We have

Hosted by Google

colonels and lieutenant-colonels, and majors and captains enough in limbo, and get informations sworn every hour against them by the dozen.

Sir W. W. Wynne landed yesterday, and this day a number of recruits for his regiment *, the terror of the rebels.

The Protestants are all arming in Dublin; even the violent Dissenters have offered the names to ballot, particularly the merchants, but the corps have rejected them for holding back so long.

I have the pleasure to inform you that our Northern accounts are still very good; no stir there except on the right side. The people called Orange-men (whose principles have been totally misrepresented) keep the country in check, and will overpower the rebels should they stir.

If we can keep the North quiet I do not fear soon subduing the rebels, and if that be done I hope to see this country more quiet and settled than it has been for a long time; but we must not relax in our operations for some time.

God send us peace in our time, for I am sure we want it; and yet what is most strange and extraordinary is, that the revenue rises every week in a degree unknown, so that, since the 25th of March last to Saturday the 19th May, the rise was 104,000*l.*

Ever yours,

J. Beresford.

P.S. Another week's account just come to me, by which I see that the rise is, on the 26th May, 142,180*l.*

Mr. Beresford to Lord Auckland.

June 4th, 1798.

My dear Auckland,—This morning at 2 o'clock Lord Edward Fitzgerald departed this life. On Saturday he was free from bodily pain, and his wounds in a very good way; that evening Lieutenant Clinch, of the Rathcoole Yeomanry, who was convicted of fighting with the rebels, was hanged at Newgate. Lord

* The Ancient Britons.

Hosted by Google

Edward heard the noise, and the mob in the street hurraying, and found out what it was: it affected him exceedingly. He first prayed very fervently for the poor wretches who were suffering for having fought in his cause, as he expressed it. This so worked upon his mind, that before night he was raging mad, and it took two men to hold him. He grew better yesterday, and was tolerably composed in the middle of the day, but relapsed at night, and died this morning about 2 o'clock.

This is an unfortunate event apparently, and yet I think it may be attended with advantage; for certain I am, that we should not have had a chance for peace or quiet while he lived; and we had every reason to believe that there was an attempt meditated for his rescue. He could not have been tried before this day fortnight, during which space of time we should have been more liable to an attack on Dublin.

I am just returned from the Castle; the coroner's inquest is sitting on Lord Edward; they have summoned his own and three other surgeons to open him, lest any improper reports should be raised.

Last night, after it was clear that he could not live, Lady Louisa Conolly and Lord Henry were admitted to him, in presence of the Chancellor. He lay quite insensible when they came in; was, after some time, on hearing her voice, induced to open his eyes. On seeing her he said, "My dear aunt," and fell again into a state of distraction. He raved all military, calling out, the Longford have been engaged this hour or so, naming several regiments, &c. They stayed above an hour, and he lived about an hour and a half after their departure. Lady Louisa and Lord Henry expressed great satisfaction at seeing the manner in which he was treated. Lord Henry returns to England this evening.

This day the rebels are to be attacked at Wexford, but we shall not hear the result before this night very late, or to-morrow morning. General Bacon, quondam tailor, was hanged an hour ago. Yours ever,

J. Beresford.

Hosted by Google

Archbishop of Cashel to Lord Auckland.

June 4th, 1798.

My dear Lord,— Nothing material has happened since I wrote to you on the 2nd, except the death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. He died this morning at 2 o'clock, partly (as is supposed) of the fever arising from his wounds, and partly from the agitation of his mind. At 10 o'clock last night Lady Louisa Conolly waited upon the Chancellor, and supplicated him in the most earnest manner to allow her and Lord Henry Fitzgerald to see Lord Edward. He accordingly carried them in his own coach to Newgate, attended them to Lord Edward's apartment, and remained there with them for an hour and a half, and then brought them back.

At first Lord Edward evidently knew Lady Louisa and his brother, but in a few minutes he began to rave, and his mind was entirely occupied by military matters till they left him. He soon after became convulsed, and remained in that state, as I hear, till he died.

Lord Abercorn, Lord Darnley, and Mr. Poole, arrived this day from England.

I am, my dear Lord, yours sincerely,

CHARLES CASHEL.

Hosted by Google

ILLUSTRATIONS.

MARIE ANTOINETTE — THE FLIGHT TO VARENNES.

Mr. Croker, in his Essays on the French Revolution, states, "that the journey to Varennes is an extraordinary instance of the difficulty of ascertaining historical truth. There have been published twelve narratives by eye-witnesses of, and partakers in, these transactions, and all these narratives contradict each other on trivial, and some on more essential points, but always in a wonderful and inexplicable manner."

But there seems to have been no narrative from the principal actor, the Count Fersen.

The following account from the Auckland MSS. will therefore be found extremely interesting, as it evidently contains information derived from Count Fersen himself. This paper was found amongst Lord Auckland's despatches for 1793, but it was drawn up at an earlier period. It is not possible to say by whom it is written*, but Lord Auckland had collected a variety of papers illustrating the French Revolution, and from his intimacy with Count Fersen, M. de Bouillé, and Mr. Quintin Craufurd, he had the best means of knowing the truth. Part of the narrative respecting the necklace he has made use of in his MS. narrative of the French Revolution, which, however, does not extend beyond 1790.

From intelligence communicated to the Queen, on the 7th of October, 1789, the day after the royal family had been brought from Versailles to Paris, she thought some attempt on her life was still intended. That evening, after she had retired to her apartment, she called Madame de

* It may possibly be copied from one of the "curious papers" the Count de Mercy showed to Lord Auckland in April 1793, or from the papers of Mr. Quintin Craufurd.

Hosted by Google

Tourzel* to her, and said, "If you should hear any noise in my room in the night, do not lose time in coming to see what it is, but carry the Dauphin immediately in to the arms of his father." Madame de Tourzel, bathed in tears, told this circumstance, two days afterwards, to the Spanish ambassador†, from whom I learnt it.

About the end of October 1789, the King sent a protest, to be kept by the King of Spain, against whatever public act he had done or might do while under constraint.

The Count de Fersen was the only person at Paris to whom the King, at this time, gave his entire confidence. He went privately to the palace by means of one of those passports that were given to some of the household and others who were supposed to have business there, and had therefore liberty to enter at all hours. He saw their Majesties in the King's closet, and by his means their correspondence was carried on, and the King's intentions communicated.

The only person out of the kingdom whom the King authorised to act in his name was the Baron de Breteuil, who, since the Revolution, resided at Soleure, in Switzerland.

About the beginning of October 1790, the King finally resolved to embrace the first opportunity of quitting Paris, after preparations could be made at some convenient place on the frontiers for his safety and reception. The Archbishop of Bordeaux‡, being one of those who had recommended this measure when he resigned the seals, secreted two passports from among several that were in his possession, and delivered them to the King, that they might be ready for use should he succeed in making his escape.

The Marquis de Bouillé, who commanded in Lorraine, Alsace, &c., was sounded, and found perfectly disposed to comply with whatever his Majesty might require of him.

The importance of this secret rendered it proper to confide in as few as possible; and, indeed, the King and Queen, from motives of goodness, wished that the misfortunes of a discovery might not extend beyond those that were absolutely necessary for the execution of the plan. It was from this consideration that the Queen refrained to communicate it to persons who enjoyed her affections, and on whom she could with safety rely.

Notwithstanding Monsieur de Montmorin's connection with M. de la Fayette and other partisans of the Revolution, in February last § he earnestly advised the King to quit Paris,

* Governess of the children of France.
† Fernan Nunez. ‡ Formerly of Toulouse.
§ This paper seems to have been drawn up in 1791.

Hosted by Google

not knowing that his Majesty had already resolved on this measure. Montmorin said it was now the only resource left both for the safety of the royal family and the kingdom. The King made such a reply as could not possibly betray his intentions; and, indeed, both he and the Queen suspected that the advice was given with a view to discover if they had any such design. But, notwithstanding the opinion here conveyed of Monsieur de Montmorin, candour obliges me to say that the Count de Mercy, who has intimately known him for many years, has told me that he believes Monsieur de Montmorin to be seriously attached to the royal family, an enemy to most of the changes that have taken place, but destitute of resolution and abilities for the critical situation he now fills; that his conduct on many occasions is not to be ascribed to want of loyalty to his sovereign, but to the weakness of his mind, and to that unaccountable influence which M. de la Fayette holds over him; that he had frequently come to him (the Count de Mercy) seriously resolved to resign his place, but that he had prevailed upon him to retain it, lest upon his resignation it might be filled by some person less favourably inclined to their Majesties.

About the month of November 1790, a coldness had arisen between the Court and La Fayette, who had hitherto professed (though, I believe, not very sincerely) a great attachment to the King and Queen. Montmorin laboured to bring about an accommodation. La Fayette, upon this occasion, demanded that Talon and Semonville should be employed to obtain intelligence of what was doing in Paris, and furnished with money for that purpose. He pretended that the people of the police had been gained by, and were entirely under the influence of, the leaders of the Jacobin Club, but that Talon and Semonville had it in their power to bring over the most active part of the police to serve the Court. They were members of that club; they had both been councillors of the Parliament of Paris. Semonville was a violent enemy of Neckar, but became a still more violent partisan of the revolution. He was deputed by La Fayette, &c., to propagate its principles in the Low Countries; but as these by no means agreed with those professed by Vanden Noot and Van Eupen*, he narrowly escaped the fury of the populace, and went off precipitately to Paris. Talon was intimately connected with La Fayette,

* The leaders of the revolution against Joseph II.

Hosted by Google

and was the *Lieutenant* who condemned the unfortunate Favras. Montmorin prevailed on the King to see them, and they were accordingly employed. At different times they received between seven and eight millions of livres, which were spent, or divided among them, without their ever having rendered the least service to the King.

Before the above circumstance, Semonville had attempted to ingratiate himself with the Queen. He had been employed to examine Favras*, and wanted to make a merit of having suppressed part of his declaration, in which he had said something that seemed to implicate the Queen. He brought the sheet that contained this part of the examination to the Count de Mercy; represented the effect it might have at so critical a juncture, when the popular prejudice was so strong against the Queen, and the populace so powerful. He desired to see the Queen and to present the paper to her himself, but in the mean time left it with M. de Mercy, who went with it to the Queen. She read it, gave it back, but positively refused to see Semonville, saying there was nothing of importance that could be alleged against her, and that it was better to run the risk of all that *could happen*, than to be certainly insulted with menaces or tormented with low intrigues. M. de Mercy communicated the Queen's refusal to Semonville, though in the mildest manner he could; at the same time hinting at the danger to which he might be exposed, were it known that he had taken it upon himself to suppress the paper. This had an effect upon him. He even left it with M. de Mercy, and it is now in his possession.

From about the beginning of 1791, the Abbé de Montesquieu came occasionally to the King. He brought intelligence, and was sometimes employed and consulted. He is cousin to the Marquis de Montesquieu, who gave his vote for the destruction of the nobility, though some years before he spent an immense sum of money in trying to prove that he was descended from Clovis, and wrote a history of his genealogy, which was considered as a romance. The Abbé, indeed, is a very different character. He was twice President of the National Assembly, and as such greatly distinguished himself. For some time past he has scarcely ever gone to the Assembly. On reproaching him on this, he said to me, "Une moitié sont des fripons, l'autre des fous, et je n'ai nulle envie de me ranger parmi les uns ni les autres."

* Favras was executed Feb. 19th, 1790, on account of a counter-revolutionary plot, in which Monsieur was implicated. See Mirabeau's Correspondence, vol. ii. pp. 484, 485.

Hosted by Google

When the Revolution happened, he was agent for the clergy, and defended their rights, though ineffectually, with great courage and ability. He promised to be one of the most rising young men in France. He joins to great composure, modesty, and gentleness of manners, a decided, manly character. Unlike most of his countrymen, he examines things with coolness and thinks beforehand. The King had constantly and obstinately rejected every idea either of a general or partial bankruptcy. We find through all his actions an uniform regard to justice and strict respect to truth. He has lately shown greater talents and judgment than any one imagined he was possessed of. They were asleep. At his desire the Abbé de Montesquieu made out a plan for reimbursing the assignats in case the monarchy should be restored. The Abbé proposed that it should be done by the clergy, on condition of having their lands restored to them. They were to be paid at the value they were at on the day before the King's departure. I think there were then about 1200 millions in circulation.

The King, having determined to make an attempt to regain his liberty, began to save as much out of the civil list as he could. A million of livres was sent to M. de Bouillé, and the Queen's jewels were sent by a trusty officer to Brussels. The Assembly, having decreed that everything that had been said to appertain to the sovereign belonged to the nation, deputed persons to take an account of the jewels of the Crown. Those commissioners applied for the Queen's jewels a few days after they had been sent away. They were answered by the King that they were her own, and did not in any way belong to the Crown of France. On examining the accounts, two rubies were mentioned to have cost 300,000 livres that were not now to be found. The King had given them to the Queen, and, without adverting to the possibility of their being called for, they had been sent away with the other jewels. The commissioners demanded them, but on the King's saying he had given them away, but, if the Assembly demanded it, would reimburse the sum from the civil list, they seemed satisfied.

In speaking of the Queen's jewels, it may be mentioned by the way, that I have made particular inquiry to discover whether the Queen was in any way acquainted with the purchase of *the necklace* by the Cardinal de Rohan, about which so much has been said, and so many falsehoods indus-

Hosted by Google

triously propagated, and I remain perfectly convinced that she was entirely ignorant of the whole transaction, until informed in the manner that is recited in the trial of the cardinal. I speak on this subject from the best authority; and it is a duty to say so. The necklace had been brought to her Majesty by the jewellers, and left for her inspection. The King saw it, and offered to buy it for her, but, on account of the embarrassed state of the finances, she refused to accept of it, and ordered that it should be returned.

By a decree of the Assembly and the consequent orders issued by the Minister of the War Department, M. de Bouillé was to take measures for the security of the frontiers within the extent of his command. Under pretence of doing so, he sent a quantity of camp equipage and field artillery to Montmédy, the place he had fixed on as the fittest for the King to retire to. This fortress is small, but strong, situated on an eminence, and close to the Austrian territory. A battalion was sent to garrison it, on which he could rely, and such measures were taken that a body of ten thousand men could be immediately assembled near it, consisting chiefly of foreign regiments known to be well-disposed to the royal cause. Such was the report made by M. de Bouillé, who took upon himself to conduct everything from Chalons. It only remained for the King to escape thither. His Majesty was advised by some to gain the Low Countries by the shortest road, and from thence to go to Montmédy; but he had an aversion to the idea of quitting France, and having once adopted a plan it was very difficult to make him depart from it. The King's departure from Paris was fixed for the night of the 20th June, and was to be conducted by M. de Fersen. His flight, and the manner of it, had been resolved on nine months before, but a variety of circumstances had prevented its being sooner executed. M. de Fersen had provided a strong travelling coach and four excellent Norman horses, and another coach and pair of horses like those that are hired at Paris, called *carosses de remise.* The latter he bought as if for his own use in the town. The travelling coach was, at his desire, ordered by a Baronne de Korff, who was then at Paris with her daughter. As she said she intended to go to Russia, she directed that it should be made to support a long journey and bad roads, and, as she was to be absent from Paris for some weeks, that it should be delivered to Fersen, who was to pay for it. It was accordingly delivered to him about the middle of June. A pass-

Hosted by Google

port had been obtained by M. de Simolin * for Madame de Korff and her family going to Frankfort. At the desire of Fersen, she pretended to M. de Simolin that by accident, in burning papers, she had burnt the passport, and got another, which she gave to Fersen, and which afterwards served for the royal family, as the roads they took were different. The Duke de Choiseul was sent to apprise M. de Bouillé. Under the pretence of escorting money coming to the army, he stationed detachments of cavalry along the road, beginning at the first stage after leaving Chalons. The appearance of those detachments created suspicion; such a precaution had never been seen before. The Duke de Choiseul commanded the first detachment near Chalons. He was instructed as soon as the coach had passed to move on and join the other detachments; and so on, to the next, by which means a considerable body of cavalry would, in the course of a few hours, have been in the rear, advancing in the same direction with the coach.

In the evening of the 20th June, Fersen went to receive the King's final orders. His Majesty observed to him that some suspicions were certainly entertained; that Bailli, the mayor, had been at the palace, in conference with La Fayette and Gouvion, and that the guards and sentinels had been doubled. Fersen observed that his departure might still be put off without any risk of discovery. The King said, perhaps without any risk to himself, but he saw danger for others. Fersen assured him there was none; and that De Bouillé would in the present circumstances find, if called upon, something plausible to say for having sent the detachments towards Chalons. The King thought for about a minute, and then said, "Non. Dussé-je périr à la porte du château? Je partirai. J'aurais donné à toute l'Europe une preuve non équivoque de mes sentimens." He then spoke with cheerfulness, and added, that having finally taken his determination he felt himself at ease.

Three of the gardes de corps had been selected by M. d'Agout, their major, to accompany the royal family. They were told that the King intended to send them with important despatches that required secrecy and might expose them to danger. They said they were ready to sacrifice themselves for his Majesty. D'Agout, who knew their sentiments formerly, saw that he could rely upon them. They

* The Russian Minister at Paris.

Hosted by Google

were provided with buff-coloured coats, such as servants in France sometimes have to travel with. Two of them were sent to the King about nine in the evening. They were informed of the service they were to be employed upon, and were not a little flattered with the preference that had been given to them. To guard against indiscretion, the King detained them in his closet. The other was sent to Fersen; and a little before midnight, he and Fersen's coachman, mounted as postilions, went with the travelling coach*, the four Norman horses, and a saddle-horse, and halted upon the road a little beyond the Barrière St. Martin. They had orders, in case of seeing any one, to move forwards and return again to their station.

The Dauphin was put to bed at the usual hour, but about half-past eleven Madame de Tourzel woke him and dressed him in girl's clothes. About the same time Fersen, dressed and acting as a coachman, came with the other coach to the court at the Tuileries called La Cour des Princes, as if to wait for some one who was in the palace. He stopped at the apartment of the Duc de Villiquier, that had a communication with the one above it. Soon after he arrived, Madame de Tourzel † came out with the two children. Fersen put them into the carriage. Neither of the children spoke a word, but he observed that Madame Royale was bathed in tears. She had all along shown great sensibility, and a degree of prudence and understanding beyond what might be expected from her years. Fersen drove at a common pace to the Petit Carrousel, and stopped near the house that was formerly inhabited by the Duchess de la Vallière. Neither that house nor the houses near it have a court to admit carriages,

* The coach had been placed at the house of Mr. Quintin Craufurd, which, according to Mr. Croker, "was then inhabited by a lady at this time called Mrs. Sullivan, but afterwards acknowledged and known as Mrs. Craufurd, with whom M. de Fersen was very intimate, and who assisted him in some of the details preparatory to the journey. She also thought prudent to escape to Brussels."—*Croker's Essays*, p. 125.

† Madame Royale states that the Queen conducted her to the carriage. This is positively contradicted by the Archbishop of Toulouse, the Duke de Choiseul, and the two gardes de corps, the latter eye-witnesses and assistants: all assert that the Queen did *not* conduct the children to the carriage. There would be no hesitation in preferring the testimony of Madame to all the rest, but that it seems contradicted by that of the *Queen herself*, who, on her trial, stated "that *her children, under the care of Madame de Tourzel, left the château an hour before her, and waited for her in the Little Carrousel.*"—*Croker's Essays*, p. 121.

It will be seen that the account given in this document entirely corroborates the account given by the Queen.

Hosted by Google

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
3 9015 01151 6534

DO NOT REMOVE
OR
MUTILATE CARD

Hosted by Google